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M. TULLII CICERONIS

DE NATURA DEORUM

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

DE NATURA DEORUM

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WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A.

TOGETHER WITH

A NEW COLLATION OF SEVERAL OF THE ENGLISH MSS.

BY J. H. SWAINSON, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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PREFACE.

In concluding a work which has cost me many years of labour, it may not be out of place to state why I first undertook it and what I have tried to accomplish. Believing that the entrance of Christianity into the world is the central fact of man's history, the key to all that preceded and all that has followed it, I have always esteemed it to be the highest office of classical scholarship to throw light upon the state of thought and feeling in the two great nations of antiquity at the time of the birth of Christ. It is as a contribution to such an inquiry that the treatise on the Nature of the Gods seems to me to possess a unique interest and value; not because Cicero was himself the most original, the most earnest, or the most religious thinker of his time; but because he, more than any other, reflects for us the best tone of his time, because he represents to us most truly its highest level of intelligence and morality. To what extent then do we find in his writings any

anticipation of the religion which was to establish itself, not in Judaea alone but in Greece and Italy also, within a hundred years of his death? We find in the first place the way prepared for Christianity by the abandonment of the old polytheism. The arguments used against the later Paganism by such men as Minucius, Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius and even Augustine himself are largely borrowed from this very dialogue. Nor is it only in the negative direction that Cicero exhibits to us philosophy preparing the way for Christianity. That God is perfect in wisdom, power, and goodness, that men are his children, partakers of his Spirit, that his Providence overrules all things to the best end, that the only acceptable worship is that in spirit and in truth, that virtue is a Divine gift, that God is the animating Spirit of the universe and yet has his peculiar abode in the heart of the virtuous, who shall hereafter be partakers of eternal[1] blessedness in heaven,—this is the teaching of Balbus, as modified by the criticisms of Cicero, and this is also the foundation of the teaching of the New Testament; it is Bishop Butler's 'Natural Religion' in its purest form. That Christians themselves recognized a positive element of Christianity in the writings of Cicero is strikingly shown by the passage given as the motto of this volume, in which St Augustine describes the impression produced upon his own mind by the study of the *Hortensius*[2].

[1] Cf. *N. D.* II 62, III 12. [2] *Confess.* III 4.

But Cicero's treatise is not only interesting from a historical point of view. It gains a further practical interest when we see him contending on behalf of rational religion against superstition on the one side and atheism on the other; when we find him upholding the union of reason and religion, both against those who placed religion outside the bounds of reason, making it rest on authority alone, and against those who maintained that the belief in a Divine Governour of the world was contrary to reason and detrimental to virtue and happiness. And then when we look onward to the further development of this contest, and see how the agnosticism of Cicero's time, after it had served its purpose in purifying the religious idea from its incrustations, itself disappeared before the vast influx of a religion which satisfied heart and mind alike, may not this suggest a similar issue for the struggle in which we ourselves are engaged, and may we not recognize, under the materialistic and agnostic tendencies of the present, the hand of God's Providence clearing the way for a purer and more enlightened Christianity in the future?

While however my chief aim has been to illustrate and explain the general argument of Cicero, I have not knowingly passed over any minor difficulty without doing my best to clear it up. For this end I have carefully studied all that has been written by my predecessors in the same field, and I have incorporated in my own commentary whatever seemed of value in

their writings. I hope that something has also been done for the improvement of the text in my critical notes, and something in the commentary and index to advance the knowledge of Ciceronian Latin. As regards the text I have always named the originator of any improvement; in the explanatory notes I have followed the example of Schömann, treating as common property all that had been collected up to the date of the last variorum edition (A.D. 1818), but naming my authority wherever I have borrowed from later writers, such as Allen or Schömann himself.

In conclusion I have only to repeat my thanks to Mr Roby and to my brother, Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, for looking over the proofs of this as of my former volumes, and to the Syndicate of the Cambridge University Press for undertaking the expense of publication.

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Usitato jam discendi ordine perveneram in librum quendam Ciceronis, cujus linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita. Sed liber ille ipsius exhortationem continet ad philosophiam et vocatur Hortensius. Ille vero liber mutavit affectum meum et ad te ipsum, Domine, mutavit preces meas, et vota ac desideria mea fecit alia. Viluit mihi repente omnis vana spes et immortalitatem sapientiae concupiscebam aestu cordis incredibili, et surgere coeperam ut ad te redirem. AUG. *Confess.* III 4.

INTRODUCTION.

ON THE DESIGN AND EXECUTION OF THE DIALOGUE.

CICERO'S object in writing the *De Natura Deorum* was partly to complete his systematic exposition of Greek philosophy for the benefit of his countrymen[1]; but, as theology was in his opinion the most important as well as the most difficult branch of philosophy, determining the nature and even the possibility of religion, and thus involving the very existence of morality itself[2], this speculative motive was reinforced by practical considerations of the most momentous character. The greater part of mankind seemed to him to be crushed under the weight of a degrading superstition, from which they could only be delivered by the propagation of more rational views on the subject of religion[3]. A few had been driven into atheism by the recoil from superstition; but religious belief was natural to man, and the real question at issue among thinking men generally was the nature and manner of life of those Divine Beings whose existence they were compelled to acknowledge. The Epicureans boasted loudly of what they had done to set men free from the fetters of superstition, but so far as they had succeeded in doing this, it was only by abandoning the belief in a providential government of the world and reducing religion to an empty form[4]. In fact their account of the Divine nature was so absurd that it was impossible to believe it could be seriously intended[5]. The Stoic doctrine was far more

[1] *Div.* II 3, 4 *ut nullum philosophiae locum esse pateremur qui non Latinis litteris illustratum pateret*, cf. *N. D.* I 9.

[2] *N. D.* I 1—4.

[3] *Div.* II 148—150.

[4] *N. D.* I 3, 117, 121.

[5] *N. D.* I 123, III 3.

worthy of consideration. It rested on a large induction of facts and supplied a very noble theory of morals and religion[1]. Still the Stoics had laid themselves open to the criticism of the Academy, partly by their over-positiveness in doubtful matters, partly by their anxiety to find a justification for the popular belief in regard to divination and the multiplicity of gods. In his 3rd book Cicero states at length the Academic objections to the Stoic view, but concludes by avowing his own preference for the latter[2].

If we compare this treatise with one which had appeared about ten years before, as a posthumous work, edited by Cicero himself after the death of its author, I think we cannot doubt that the later treatise was written with distinct reference to the earlier. I allude to the poem of Lucretius, of which Cicero speaks in such high terms in a letter to his brother Quintus written in Feb. 54 B.C., about four months after the poet's death, *Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt, multis luminibus ingenii multae tamen artis*, and to which we find several allusions in this and other writings of Cicero[3]. The avowed motive of both writers is the same, to deliver

[1] *N. D.* I 4, 121, III 4.

[2] *N. D.* III 94, cf. *Divin.* I 9, II 148.

[3] See Munro's Lucretius *Intr.* p. 93[1] foll. and compare Lucr. I 74 with *Fin.* II 102, Lucr. II 1092 with *Tusc.* I 48, Lucr. III 983 with *Fin.* I 60, Lucr. IV 1070 with *Tusc.* IV 75, Lucr. VI 396 with *Div.* III 44. The passage to Quintus (II 10) is thus explained by Munro p. 108, "There seems to have been almost a formal antithesis between the rude genius of Ennius and the modern art. It is not then impossible that Quintus may so have expressed himself on this head, that Cicero may mean to answer 'yes, you are quite right in saying that Lucretius has not only much of the native genius of Ennius, but also much of that art which, to judge by most of the poets of the day, might seem incompatible with it'." I should gather from the words which follow (*sed, cum veneris, virum te putabo, si Sallustii Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo*) that Quintus had announced his intention of reading the *Empedoclea* on his return to Rome: Cicero says 'if you accomplish your purpose I shall admire your manhood (strength of will), but not think so highly of your humanity (feeling and taste)'. If we are to make any change in the reading, I very much prefer the emendation *sed, si ad umbilicum veneris, virum te putabo* (implying that Cicero, notwithstanding his admiration for the poet, shared the feeling of most moderns in regard to the technicalities of the Atomic System) to the emendation adopted by Mr G. A. Simcox in his *History of Latin Literature* (I p. 84) *multae tamen artis si eum inveneris, virum te putabo; si Sallusti Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo*, which he thus explains, 'Cicero gives his brother credit for recognizing Lucretius' genius in the many splendid passages of his poem, hopes he is man enough to recognize his skill as well, and tells

mankind from the yoke of superstition. If Lucretius describes the state of the world, unenlightened by Epicurus, in the words *humana ante oculos foede cum vita jaceret in terris oppressa gravi sub religione, quae caput a caeli regionibus ostendebat horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans* (I 63 foll.), and again *faciunt animos humiles formidine divom depressosque premunt ad terram* (VI 52); we find Cicero (*Div.* II 148) deploring the evil in almost the same terms, *nam, ut vere loquamur, superstitio fusa per gentes oppressit omnium fere animos atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit......Instat enim et urget et quo te cumque verteris persequitur, sive tu vatem, sive tu omen audieris, sive immolaris, sive avem aspexeris, si Chaldaeum, si haruspicem videris, si fulserit, si tonuerit, si tactum aliquid erit de caelo, si ostenti simile natum factumve quippiam; quorum necesse est plerumque aliquid eveniat, ut numquam liceat quieta mente consistere. Perfugium videtur omnium laborum et sollicitudinum esse somnus. At ex eo ipso plurimae curae metusque nascuntur*[1]. If Lucretius speaks of the everlasting punishments of Tartarus as the climax of those terrors which kept men all their lifetime 'subject to bondage', Cicero makes his Stoic repudiate this as a superstition which was at length felt even by the vulgar to be no longer endurable[2]. It is true that Cicero does not in our dialogue go so far as to speak of crimes perpetrated in the name of religion, as Lucretius speaks of the sacrifice of Iphigenia: he is content here to show the folly and misery of superstition, and the inequity of the principles of action which it ascribes to the gods; but elsewhere he contrasts it with religion, as a spurious

him he will sink below humanity if he can read Sallust's *Empedocles*'. It is unnecessary to say more of this translation than that it loses the force of *tamen* and *virum*, as well as of the opposition between *virum* and *hominem*. I must caution my younger readers against trusting too implicitly to Mr Simcox where he touches on other points which concern our present treatise. The statement in I p. 80 that 'Panaetius had adopted the orthodox doctrines of omens and oracles instead of the consistent and simple fatalism of the earlier Stoics' is exactly the reverse of the truth, as may be seen from the passages cited in p. xxi of my 2nd volume and the notes on II 162, 163, III 93, 95; and Posidonius was not a Peripatetic (as is stated in vol. II 389) but one of the most famous of the younger Stoics.

[1] For *vates* cf. *N. D.* I 55 and Lucr. I 102 *tutemet a nobis jam quovis tempore vatum terriloquis victus dictis desciscere quaeres;* for *somnus* Lucr. I 132, IV 33; for *quieta mens* the *tranquilla pax animi* of Lucr. VI 78, the *suave mari magno* of II 1.

[2] Lucr. I 107 foll., *N. D.* II 5, I 86 n.

imitation, bearing to it the same relation as rashness to fortitude, craftiness to prudence, and tending to blind and stupefy the conscience. The same idea seems to be implied in the phrase used (*N. D.* I 1) that a knowledge of theology is necessary *ad moderandam religionem*[1]. Again, as the evil deplored by both writers is the same, so is the remedy proposed, which is in a word the scientific theory of nature, *religio quae est juncta cum cognitione naturae* (*Div.* II 149), the *physica constansque ratio*, which is opposed to superstition in *N. D.* III 92, II 63, *Div.* I 126; in the words of Lucretius I 146 *hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest non radii solis neque lucida tela diei discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque.* Further we find both writers agreed as to the fact, that the Divine existence is not inconsistent with the scientific theory of nature, and as to the origin of religious belief among mankind from the awe-inspiring phenomena of nature and the orderly movements of the heavenly bodies[2].

From this point however the two writers draw apart. Cicero accepts as valid the above-mentioned grounds of religious belief and adds to them the general consent of mankind, the traditional faith of Rome, the marks of intelligence and of benevolence visible in the universe; while he ridicules the solitary evidence on which Lucretius appears to build his theology, that of dreams, and shows how arbitrary and inconsistent is the Epicurean idea of the 'intermundian' gods[3]. To the fortuitous concourse of atoms and the *fortuna gubernans* of Lucretius he opposes the *providentia gubernans* of the Stoics[4]. Lastly, while it is *religio* which is the curse of mankind according to Lucretius, with Cicero it is *superstitio;* over and over again he distinguishes the one from the other, as the lawful from the unlawful, the rational from the irrational, the holy from the unholy, and sums up in the words, *ita factum est in superstitioso et religioso alterum vitii nomen, alterum laudis.* The way in which he introduces his distinction has the air of remonstrance against a misuse of the word *religio* (*N. D.* II 71), *non enim philosophi solum* (referring to

[1] Lucr. I 80 foll., *N. D.* I 42, II 70, *Part. Or.* 81 *religionem superstitio imitatur*, *Cluent.* 194 *nocturna sacrificia sceleratasque ejus preces et nefaria vota cognovimus; quibus illa etiam deos immortales de suo scelere testatur, neque intellegit pietate et religione et justis precibus deorum mentes, non contaminata superstitione neque ad scelus perficiendum caesis hostiis posse placari.*

[2] Lucr. V 1183—1240, *N. D.* III 16, *Div.* II 148.

[3] *Tusc.* I 30, *Leg.* I 24, *Div.* II 148, *N. D.* III 5, *Leg.* I 25, *Tusc.* I 68 foll., Lucr. V 1161 foll., *N. D.* I 76 foll.

[4] Lucr. V. 107. *N. D.* II 73, 93.

the Greek distinction between εὐσέβεια and δεισιδαιμονία already established in the time of Polybius, who however does not altogether condemn the latter in VI 56), *verum etiam majores nostri superstitionem a religione separaverunt;* while at the same time the fact that he thinks it necessary to claim the authority of ancient usage for his own distinction, may perhaps be regarded as an indication that it was not yet fully recognized. It was apparently unknown to the author of the treatise *ad Herennium*, who couples *religio* with *ambitio* and other passions which impel to evil (II 34); but it seems to have been observed by all later writers. Thus, while Lucretius always uses *religio* in a bad sense and never uses *superstitio* at all, his imitator Virgil reserves *religio* for what is laudable and speaks of *vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum* (*Aen.* VIII 187), and so Horace reckons *tristis superstitio* among the diseases of the mind (*Sat.* II 3. 79). Perhaps it may be thought that the difference between Cicero and Lucretius is not a difference of meaning as to the word *religio*, but a difference of feeling and judgment as regards the facts denoted by the word. Such a view would be quite consistent with the supposition that Cicero's dialogue is intended in part as a protest against the doctrine advocated by Lucretius; but Lucretius himself asserts more than once that his doctrine is not hostile to religion, as Cicero would understand that word[1]. In either case it seems to me clear that, while agreeing with Lucretius as to the evils wrought in the name of religion, Cicero wished to make it plain to all men that these evils did not flow from religion rightly understood, but from its corruption, which he distinguished by the name of *superstitio;* and that an indiscriminate attack on all that went under the name of religion was even more injurious to society than superstition itself.

Assuming then that Cicero had this double practical aim in writing his treatise, first to eradicate superstition, second, to show the importance of a rational religion; and that he combines with this the speculative aim of completing his system and expounding to his countrymen the theological views of the leading Greek philosophers, we have next to consider how this design has been carried out? If we compare the impression produced upon us by reading the

[1] Lucr. I 80 *illud in his rebus vereor ne forte rearis impia te rationis inire elementa...quod contra saepius illa religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta*, V 1198 *nec pietas ulla est velatum saepe videri vertier ad lapidem atque omnes accedere ad aras,...sed mage pacata posse omnia mente tueri*, VI 75 *delubra deum placido cum pectore adibis.*

poem of Lucretius or the 10th book of Plato's *Laws* with the impression produced by the *Natura Deorum*, I think it cannot be denied that the latter is far less impressive than either of the former. Cicero is a man of extraordinary ability cultivated to the highest pitch by an excellent education, with the widest tastes and sympathies, and a mind open, as that of few Romans has been, to all impressions of beauty and sublimity. But, considered as a philosopher, he has the misfortune to be at the same time a lawyer, an orator and a man of the world: in his philosophical treatises we are too often conscious of the author holding a brief, appealing to the populace, writing against time and amidst countless distractions, far removed from the whole-hearted concentration of a Plato or a Lucretius. We must not wonder therefore if Cicero's wide scheme contracts itself to the paraphrase or adaptation of two or three contemporary writings and the exposition and criticism of the Epicurean and Stoic theologies.

Contenting ourselves with this lower aim we ask again, how it has been accomplished? Is the exposition clear, accurate and methodical, observing due proportion throughout? Are the arguments well set forth, the criticisms just and fair? Is the dialogue, as a whole, a finished work of art, like the dialogues of Plato? Before attempting to answer these questions I will quote the estimate given of Cicero's physical or theological treatises by two writers of antiquity. The first is Velleius Paterculus, who says *dum hoc vel forte vel providentia vel utcumque constitutum rerum naturae corpus, quod ille paene solus Romanorum animo vidit, ingenio complexus est, eloquentia illuminavit, manebit incolume, comitem aevi sui laudem Ciceronis trahet* (II 66); the second Macrobius, or rather the captious interlocutor in his *Saturnalia* (I 24, § 4), who is probably intended to be the spokesman of others, when he says *Tullius, qui non minus professus est philosophandi studium quam loquendi, quotiens aut de natura deorum aut de fato aut de divinatione disputat, gloriam, quam oratione conflavit, incondita rerum relatione minuit.* Modern readers will probably side with the latter view. While allowing that we have in this treatise a great deal of excellent sense admirably expressed, and that it is hardly possible to exaggerate its historical importance as contributing to our knowledge of the religious philosophy of the ancients, yet, regarding it as a whole, it is impossible to call it a work of art, it is impossible to say that the due proportions of the subject have been observed. Each of the three books is disfigured by an insertion which is foreign to the

argument and of singularly little interest in itself. The 1st is the historical sketch of previous philosophy from the Epicurean point of view, which is of much the same value, as if a historian of modern religious thought were to take his account of German philosophy from Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*. The 2nd insertion is Cicero's own translation of the *Aratea;* the 3rd and the most incomprehensible of the three is the mythological section, in which he attempts to show that there were many separate deities confused under the same name. In speaking of these as insertions, I do not mean that the 1st and 3rd are exclusively due to Cicero and had nothing corresponding to them in the Greek original, but that in all three cases a very subordinate point has been allowed to swell out beyond all proportion, and that in order to make room for them, matters of real interest and importance have been either omitted or curtailed to such an extent as to become themselves unintelligible. Thus, how willingly should we have exchanged the first insertion, either for an intelligent and impartial review of the growth of religious philosophy, or for a fuller account of the life of the 'intermundian' gods; how willingly have dispensed with the *Aratea* in order to obtain more information as to the Stoic doctrine of the dealings of Providence with the individual, so cruelly cut down in the concluding paragraphs of the Second Book; above all how gladly should we have escaped from the futility of the mythological section, if we might thereby have secured space for a reply from Balbus, or even for a fuller statement of the Academic argument on such a question as the consistency of moral virtue with the Divine nature!

Taking the book however as it stands with its faulty proportions, what are we to say of the manner in which each separate part is done? The introduction, which gives the key-note to the whole treatise, is of special importance as expressing Cicero's own convictions in regard to the need of a true religious belief. 'A mere pretence of religion', he says (in reference to the Epicureans, but the same thing applies to an Academic like Cotta) 'is inconsistent with any true piety, and without piety faith and justice cannot exist and all society is subverted.' Piety is necessarily bound up with the belief in the providential government of the world; there can be no such thing as worship, unless we believe that the gods are interested in men and are able and willing to benefit them. But we must be able to give a reason for our faith, and not embrace an opinion without investigation, merely on the authority of others. While the Stoics have

performed an important service in exhibiting the evidences of design in the outward universe, the Academy has not been without its use in forcing us to look at both sides of the question, and insisting on probability as the guide of life, since absolute certainty is unattainable owing to the limitation of the human faculties.

The 2nd portion of Bk I contains the Epicurean polemic against the orthodox theology, Platonic and Stoic. It touches on many interesting points, but it does no more than touch on them; its criticism is addressed as usual to the gallery, very much in the style of the *altercatio* with Clodius, of which Cicero writes with such complacency to Atticus (*Att.* I 3), and for the most part consists of a series of exclamatory questions, which are assumed to be unanswerable, though the answer may be distinctly given in the words of the treatise criticized[1]. The more rational objections, such as those which turn on the possibility of Creation at a particular moment of time, on the motives which could be supposed to influence the Creator, on the imperfection visible in the work of Creation, are never directly met by succeeding speakers. No one seems to pay any attention to them. Just as it is afterwards with the Academic criticisms on the Epicurean and Stoic systems, there is no right of reply, no judicial weighing of opposing arguments, no honest endeavour to carry out even the principle of Carneades and ascertain precisely to which side the balance of probability inclines.

The review of the history of religious opinions contained in the following sections (§§ 25—43) is, as I have already remarked, the great blot on this first book. It would be hardly going too far to say that, as regards the prae-Stoic philosophy, it does not contain a single strictly accurate statement or a single intelligent criticism. It may be said, this is the fault not of Cicero but of the Epicurean authority whom he follows; Cicero merely gives it as a specimen of Epicurean ignorance and prejudice. But if it was intended as an exposure of this sort, why is it that, so far from giving any hint to that effect, so far from correcting any of the blunders of Velleius, Cicero afterwards makes Cotta compliment Velleius on the accuracy of his sketch? The real fact is that Cicero himself was in all probability unconscious of the inaccuracies which fill the historical section, and that some at least of these inaccuracies (as may be proved by a comparison with the fragments of Philodemus) arose from his own

[1] See nn. on I 19 *illae quinque formae*, § 20 *quod ortum sit*.

misunderstanding of his authority. See for instance my notes on the account of Thales § 25, of Anaximenes § 26, of Parmenides § 28, of Xenophon § 31.

The Epicurean exposition, contained in §§ 43—56, is far superior to the historical section, but it suffers from curtailment, just where full explanation was most needed. Unhappily Cicero had not time to think out a difficulty; so when he comes to one, he either omits, or satisfies himself with a rendering which is unintelligible to himself as well as to every one else; see especially what is said of the divine images in § 49 compared with §§ 105 and 109. In fairness it must however be allowed that he is writing for Roman readers and has to select or reject with the thought of what will be most in accordance with their taste, just as the late Dr Whewell did in his *Platonic Dialogues for English Readers.*

The Academic criticism which occupies the rest of the book contains much that is interesting, but, here too, flippant assertion not unfrequently takes the place of argument. Thus there is no pretence of arguing the question between a *plenum* and a *vacuum* (§ 65 foll.); the speaker dogmatically asserts his preference for the former, therefore the latter is wrong. The objections to anthropomorphism are well stated in §§ 76—102, but Cicero has either misunderstood or has confused the argument on the value of general experience, as a criterion of truth, and the possibility of a unique experience (see nn. on § 87). In §§ 103, 104 Cotta announces his intention to examine the Epicurean account of the habitation and manner of life of their gods, but in § 105 hurries on to a discussion of the theory of images. Possibly this change of plan may have arisen, as Schwencke suggests, from the discovery that the original treatise from which he is translating, travelled beyond the topics introduced in the speech of Velleius. In any case it is a fault in the construction of the dialogue, and deprives us of information, which would have been very welcome, as to the nature of existence in the *intermundia.* The question raised in §§ 105—110 relates to the possibility of distinguishing between objective and subjective images; what right have we to assume that the phantasms of divinities are more real than those of absent or non-existent persons or things? Even if we assume their reality, what right have we to attribute happiness to beings without virtue (since without action) and without the sensual pleasures which are allotted to man? Can they even be said to be free from pain, when they are in constant

danger from the incoming and outgoing atoms? The remainder of the book is occupied in showing that the Epicurean notion of a deity, incapable of action and absorbed in his own pleasure, who has no feeling for men, and is altogether unconnected with them, is really atheistic and inconsistent with any kind of piety or holiness. It is to be noticed that the Epicurean defence (*at etiam liber est Epicuri de sanctitate*) meets a double rejoinder §§ 115, 123. Is this a sign that Cicero had before him two criticisms of Epicurus, one, say, by Philo (I 59), the other by Posidonius, or are they alternative summaries of the argument of the latter, which have both been inserted by mistake? We shall see other examples of the same sort of carelessness in the following books.

In the 2nd book we have perhaps the most important contribution to theological thought which has come down to us from classical antiquity. It wants the inspiration, the passionate earnestness of Plato, but it covers a wider range; it is a store-house in which are preserved the best achievements of Greek philosophy in this department from the time of Socrates to that of Cicero. The arrangement may be confused, many of the special theories advanced may be obsolete, many of the facts misunderstood or inaccurately stated, but the general proof here given of a rationally ordered universe, and of a providential care for man can never lose its interest or value. It holds good against all theories of evolution, whether ancient or modern, which would make mind posterior to matter. The main lines of the proof are that religious belief is natural to man; that it is confirmed by the signs of superhuman power, wisdom and goodness visible in the universe; that man cannot be the highest thing in the universe, as he would be if the universe were irrational; rather that it is from it he derives his reason as well as the gross elements of which the body is composed; that the common source of the reason of all men must far surpass the particles of reason dispersed in individual men; that the harmony and sympathy of all the parts of the universe proves it to be under the control of one guiding spirit; that mind or soul originates all motion. Then follows the argument from the Scale of Existence: we observe the gradual ascent from vegetable to animal, from animal to man, the last showing the potentiality of virtue and wisdom, hence we infer a higher stage, the divine, which is absolutely virtuous and wise. Nature strives after perfection in all its parts; this striving cannot be frustrated; there may be partial hindrances, but

there is no external power to check the progress of the whole; therefore the universe as a whole must attain perfection.

The larger portion of the 2nd book is occupied with the subject of Providence. This is argued 1st from our idea of the Divine nature as active and benevolent, and 2nd from the skill manifested in the universe, which attests the wisdom of the great Artist, just in the same way as the orrery attests the wisdom of Archimedes. The skill of the Creator is then shown in detail, 1st as regards the earth and the heavenly bodies, 2nd as regards the adaptations visible in vegetable and animal life, 3rd and above all in the case of man. It is further shown that the universe exists for the sake of its rational inhabitants, and that all things tend to the good of man, that providential care extends even to individual men, that virtue and wisdom are divine gifts, that the philosopher is dear to God and can never experience what is really harmful.

So far I think we may be sure that Cicero would go along with Balbus. It is no more than he has repeatedly said in his own person elsewhere, except as to the Scale of Existence, to which we find resemblances, it is true, but no exact parallel in the passages quoted in my notes. There are other parts of his discourse which are less in harmony with what we know of Cicero's opinions from other treatises. Such are the identification of heat with intelligence, the ascription of life, thought and volition to the material universe and the heavenly bodies, the sanction accorded by the Stoics to the popular mythology as representing either the varied activity of the Supreme Being, the personification of abstract qualities, or the divinity of the human soul; to which we may add the belief in divination[1].

When we go on to inquire into the arrangement of the 2nd book, there is much to find fault with. The main divisions are by no means clear. As is pointed out in Vol. II p. xxii, much that is placed under

[1] Cicero, speaking in his own person, asserts the existence and the immateriality of God, and ascribes to him the origin of all motion and the fatherhood of the human soul *Tusc.* I 66 (a quotation from his own *Consolatio*), *animorum nulla in terris origo inveniri potest...quicquid est illud quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vivit, quod viget, caeleste et divinum ob eamque rem aeternum sit necesse est. Nec vero deus ipse...alio modo intellegi potest nisi mens soluta quaedam et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et movens, ipsaque praedita motu sempiterno* cf. ib. I 30, 36, 60, 63 (the Creator is to the universe as Archimedes to his orrery), 68 foll., *Leg.* I 21, II 15 foll., *Milo* 83, 84, *Harusp. Resp.* 19.

the 1st head, would have come more naturally under the 2nd, and much that is placed under the 3rd would have come better under the 4th. In one place Cicero seems to have confused himself, and commences his 4th division out of its proper order in § 133, giving a second commencement in § 155. Then we have the superfluous Aratean section (§§ 104—114), and the omission of much interesting matter at the end of the book, in reference to the calamities of the good and the difficulties alleged against the moral government of the world. For faults of detail see my notes on *etenim* 16, *crassissima regione* 17, *cum alio juncta* 29, *absoluti operis effectum* 35, *ex utraque re* 49, *aetherios cursus* 54, *suis seminibus* 58, *vis major, regi non potest* 61, *dentes et pubertatem* 86, where particular arguments seem to be imperfectly stated. For mistranslations of the Greek original see on *obductus, cujus sub pedibus*, 110, *posteriore trahens* 113.

It is more difficult to take a general view of the 3rd book than of the preceding, as so large a portion, probably more than one third, has been lost. It will be seen from the analysis, as well as from the Essay which follows, upon the Sources of this book, that the arrangement of what remains is again unsatisfactory. Cicero is embarrassed throughout by having to meet a later Stoic argument out of an earlier Academic treatise, in which the topics are different and differently arranged. This explains why, after Cotta has announced his intention to treat several of the arguments adduced for the Divine existence under the 3rd head, instead of under the 1st, as Balbus had done (III 17, 18), he introduces them under the 2nd head without giving any reason for his change of purpose. We will take the different arguments in order with reference to the corresponding parts of the 2nd book. There is certainly some weight in the objections urged to the argument from universal consent, viz. that the object of popular belief is not the God of the Stoics, and that it is inconsistent in those who regard the majority as fools, to attach any importance to what the majority believe (§§ 10, 11); still these objections hardly apply to the arguments as stated in Bk II. *Consensus* is cited there as a proof not of any special Stoic doctrine, but of the existence of a Divine Governor; and a careful distinction is made between temporary opinion and fixed belief, especially where the latter becomes stronger with the advance in civilization. The Stoic arguments derived from recorded epiphanies and the practice of divination, are fairly met by denial of the facts and questioning the utility of a knowledge of the future; the self-devotion of Decius

was prompted by policy, not by religion; to suppose otherwise would be to impute injustice to the Gods (§§ 11—15). This sets aside one of the grounds assigned for the prevalence of religious belief by Cleanthes; his 2nd ground, that of the terrible phenomena of nature, is allowed as a fact; the two others are deferred along with the arguments of Zeno and Chrysippus to the 3rd head. The 2nd branch of the discussion deals with the Divine nature. This begins in § 20 with a distinct reference to the corresponding part of the argument of Balbus (II 45). In both the question is *qualis eorum natura sit;* both refer to the stupefying influence of custom. Cotta then proceeds to challenge Balbus' assertion *mundum animantem esse et deum*, and the proof alleged for it *nihil mundo esse melius*. 'It no more follows from this,' he says, 'that the world must be possessed of reason than that the city of Rome is a reasoning creature, or that, if it is not, it must be reckoned of less value than the ant which is possessed of reason.' (Cf. II 45, 16.) But the same proof had been quoted as from Zeno in II 21, so Cotta recurs to that (III 22), in spite of his avowed intention of leaving it for the section on Providence, and replies that on the same principle we might argue that the world could read a book. In § 23 he deals with another argument of Zeno's given in II 22, putting it in a more general form (apparently with a reference to the Socratic argument in II 18) 'everything which exists is derived from the world, and the world can produce nothing unlike itself, therefore the human reason is a product of the world and resembles it.' 'On the same principle,' he says, 'we might maintain that the world could play the flute.' The next argument touched on by Cotta is that which deduces the divinity of the stars from their regular motions, apparently referring to II 54 foll. 'Similarly we might argue for the divinity of quartan fevers' (III 24). For an examination of these objections see nn. on the particular passages. In § 25 Cotta goes back to Chrysippus (II 16, 17). His 1st argument is that 'if there is anything in the world beyond man's power to make, he who made it must be God'; the 2nd that 'if there were no Gods, man would be the best thing in the universe, which it would be the extreme of arrogance to suppose'; the 3rd that 'the world is too beautiful to have been built simply for the habitation of man.' Cotta's answer to the 1st is that it ignores the distinction between nature and reason (which of course has no force against the Stoics who identified nature with reason, and does not in the least degree affect the inference that there is a superhuman power at work in the

universe); to the 2nd that it is not arrogant for man to recognize that he has reason and that the stars are without it (shirking the question and also assuming what the Stoics denied); to the 3rd that the world was not built but formed by nature (what nature forms *is* built, according to the Stoics; but this argument, like the others, is equally true, put into its most general form: the beauty of the universe is only very partially explained by the pleasure or utility which it affords to man). In § 27 Cotta proceeds with the argument quoted from Xenophon (II 18), 'whence did man obtain reason if it did not exist in the world?' to which he makes the same frivolous answer as he had done to the similar questions of Zeno. Then comes (in § 28) an approving reference to the sympathy which unites all the parts of the universe, but it is denied that this affords any ground for believing that the universe is pervaded by a divine spirit or breath; it is all the unconscious operation of nature. Here again we have simple assertion on the part of the Academics. The vague term nature was explained by the Epicureans, from the analogy of material objects, to mean atoms moving in a vacuum according to the laws of gravitation modified by the individual *clinamen*, by the Stoics, from the analogy of the soul, to mean the reason and will embodied in the universe; the Academics, clinging to their unanalysed conception of nature, opposed their simple denial to both.

There is more weight in the argument by which Carneades endeavoured to show that if the world is an animal it must be liable to destruction and therefore not divine. As corporeal it is discerptible; as a compound of contrary and perishable elements, it is liable to fly asunder and perish; as animated and therefore capable of feeling, it is liable to sensations of pain and susceptible of death (§§ 29—34). It is partly met by the Stoic doctrine of the cyclic renovation, partly by denying that the capacity of pleasure involves the possibility of pain and that this latter involves the possibility of death. In §§ 35—37 Cotta has no difficulty in showing that fire is not more divine than the other elements.

After this follows an interesting argument on the compatibility of the ideas of virtue and divinity (§ 38). As we may see by comparing Sextus, this has been very much cut down by Cicero. The quotations in the notes will show with what limitations it holds good. The subordinate deities of the Stoics are subjected to a severe criticism in §§ 39—64. It is shown that Stoic allegorization is purely arbitrary, that it is impossible to draw the line between the human and divine

in the popular theology, which they take under their protection, and that it is impossible to say what is believed about each deity. It is here that Cicero inflicts upon us the tedious mythological section, of which Sextus was satisfied to give one or two extracts as specimens. I have spoken sufficiently of this in the Essay on the Sources and in the Appendix.

After this, many chapters are lost till we come to the answer to the Stoic proof of Divine beneficence as shown in the gift of reason. In the speech of Balbus this was treated under the general head of Providence (II 147, 148), here it is treated as a part of the argument to prove a special providential care for man (III 66—78). Cotta shows by examples taken from the stage and the law-courts the ill effects of reason, and argues that, if it is a divine gift, the Giver is responsible for effects, which he must have foreseen, and against which he ought to have secured man. There is a disarrangement in these paragraphs which was perhaps caused by the mistaken insertion of two alternative versions or abstracts of the Greek original. It is a defect in Cicero's exposition of the Stoic argument in the previous book that the difficulties urged by the Academic under this last head are not touched on by Balbus. In all probability they formed part of the cargo thrown overboard by Cicero (in §§ 164—167) in order to save his *Aratea*. Other arguments alleged against a providential ordering of human affairs are the universal lack of wisdom deplored by the Stoics, and the unrighteous distribution of prosperity and adversity. The Stoics have depreciated the importance of these gifts of fortune in comparison with the qualities of the soul, but Providence has nothing to do with the latter; each man must achieve them for himself. Besides, whether important or unimportant, nothing should be neglected under the rule of Providence. It has been attempted to eke out the case for providential government by pointing to the misfortunes which befall the descendants of the guilty, but what sort of justice is this? Is it even consistent with the Stoic idea of God, that he should exact punishment at all? The Stoics themselves allow that his care does not extend to individuals, what reason have we for supposing that it extends to mankind? (III 79—93).

Speaking generally the Academic objections under this head are well and clearly stated by Cicero, but here and there obscurities arise from too great conciseness, see note on § 91 (*D c.* 9), § 92 *aut nescit quod possit.* There are also several inaccuracies,

arising apparently from over-haste in translating the original, see notes on *fanum Proserpinae* § 83, *ad Peloponnesum* ib., *Epidauri* ib., *mensas argenteas* § 84, *ne Delio quidem Apollini* § 88. As to the manner in which these objections were met by the Stoics see my notes on each passage. In some instances they may be directly answered from the speech of Balbus, e. g., the assumption that virtue is allowed by all to be independent of Divine grace, is contradicted in II 79; the assertion that, according to the Stoics, Providence does not extend to individuals, is contradicted in II 165. In both these cases it is probable that the elder Stoics held the doctrines impugned, but this want of correspondence between the exposition and the criticism spoils the verisimilitude of the dialogue.

As to Cicero's own feeling with regard to the questions at issue, we find him dissenting from the Academic view in regard to the misfortunes of the good and the prosperity of the bad, in the passages cited in my notes on § 80 *Reguli*, § 84 *percussit*; on conscience as the voice of God § 85 *sine ulla divina ratione*; on virtue as the gift of God § 87 *quis quod bonus vir esset*. But none except the extremest partisans could pretend that the Academic difficulties were entirely cleared up by such considerations as were available on the other side. Then, as now, the Divine government was a matter of faith, not of certainty. Now, as then, in spite of the added light of Christianity, we must confess that, logically speaking, the religious view of the order of the world is only the more probable; that Cicero in fact is right, as against the Stoics, when he refuses to say more than that the argument of Balbus appeared to him to be *ad veritatis similitudinem propensior*.

Lastly, provokingly inconsistent as is the Academic view which at one time professes to be guided by reason alone, irrespective of authority (I 10), and at other times, in the person of Cotta, accepts without inquiry whatever has come down to us on the authority of our ancestors (III 5, 9); which sneers at the sacred legends and the practice of divination, and does its best to show that the very idea of God is self-contradictory and impossible, and yet insists on retaining all the externals of religion as a duty obligatory on every Roman citizen; still the Academic pontiff is a person of genuine historical interest. He is the Trajan who, allowing that there is no harm in Christianity and that Christians are not to be hunted out, yet ordains that if a man is accused of Christianity before a magistrate and refuses to abjure his faith, he is to be put to death. In later times

he is the unbelieving statesman who fights against liberty of conscience and uses the arm of the secular power to prevent Church reform; he is the Christian apologist who, insisting on the acceptance of every letter of the creed, forbids all thought as to its meaning under the name of rationalism or dogmatism.

WAS THE NATURA DEORUM PUBLISHED DURING THE LIFE-TIME OF CICERO?

In the preceding essay indications of hasty composition have been pointed out, and it has been remarked that some passages present the appearance of having been made up of two alternative versions of the same original, both of which have been inserted by mistake. If this is so, it would seem that the book must have been published without the author's revision. Are there any facts which would confirm this suspicion?

The conclusive proof that the book did not receive the finishing touches from the hand of its author, is to be found in the inconsistent allusions to the time occupied in the discussion. Thus, in II 73 we find the conversation of the 1st book alluded to in the words *a te ipso hesterno die dictum est*, and in III 18 the 2nd book is alluded to in the words *omnia quae a te nudius tertius dicta sunt*; from which we should infer that the whole discussion must have occupied four days, giving one day to each speech. But if we look back to the beginning of the 2nd and 3rd books (*quae cum Cotta dixisset tum Velleius* II 1, *quae cum Balbus dixisset tum arridens Cotta* III 1), we find no hint of any break in the conversation. The only reference to time is in III 94 *quoniam advesperascit dabis nobis diem aliquem ut contra ista dicamus*, which certainly implies that the conversation had occupied only one day. There is no difficulty of this kind in other dialogues. In the *Tusculans* (I 8) Cicero distinctly says *dierum quinque scholas in totidem libros contuli*, and there is a formal notice of the close of one day and the beginning of another in I 119, II 9, 10, II 67, III 7, III 84, IV 7, V 1, 11, with a separate dedication or preface to each book. In the *De Finibus* the first two books are supposed to be spoken continuously at Cicero's villa at Cumae, the 3rd and 4th on a different occasion at Lucullus' Tusculan villa, the 5th in Plato's Academia at Athens.

But does not Cicero himself speak of the *De Natura Deorum* as already published at the time of his writing the *De Divinatione*, and the *De Fato*? Compare *Div.* I 8, where Quintus says *perlegi tuum paulo ante tertium de natura deorum in quo disputatio Cottae, quamquam labefactavit sententiam meam, non funditus tamen sustulit*, to which Marcus replies *Optime vero, etenim ipse Cotta sic disputat, ut Stoicorum magis argumenta confutet quam hominum deleat religionem.* Quintus regards this protest as a matter of form *dicitur quidem istuc ne communia jura migrare videatur; sed studio contra Stoicos disserendi deos mihi videtur funditus tollere: ejus rationi non sane desidero quid respondeam; satis enim defensa religio est in secundo libro a Lucilio, cujus disputatio tibi ipsi, ut in extremo libro scribis, ad veritatem est visa propensior.* Again in *Div.* II 3 *quibus rebus editis* (i.e. the *Hortensius, Academica, De Finibus, Tusculans*), *tres libri perfecti sunt de natura deorum;* to which he adds others afterwards. It may be thought that these quotations settle the question and that Cicero himself is responsible for the book in its present state whether finished or unfinished. But is it not permissible to draw a different conclusion from the opposition of the words *editi* and *perfecti* in the last passage? The *Hortensius* and other dialogues were published, the *Natura Deorum* was what we should call ready for the press. So in *Fat.* I 1 we find a distinction made between *quod in aliis libris feci qui sunt de natura deorum*, and the books *quos de divinatione edidi.* We are not bound to take literally the statement that Quintus had read the book of which he is supposed to speak in *Div.* I; even if he had done so, it might have been from having access to the original MS. We know that other works of Cicero were published after his death, such as the *Epistles* and probably some of the *Orations* by Tiro, and, among his philosophical works, the unfinished *Leges.* If the *Natura Deorum* was still unpublished at the time of Cicero's murder, and if the MS was as much altered and emended as that of the *De Gloria*, of which he says to Atticus (XVI 3) *misi* ἀρχέτυπον *ipsum crebris locis inculcatum et refectum*, this would go far to explain the existing roughnesses and inconsistencies of the dialogue.

ON THE RELATIONS OF ORELLI'S MSS TO THE ARCHETYPE AND TO EACH OTHER.

The archetype from which all the existing MSS are derived must have been in a very bad condition, having lost considerable portions of the 3rd book, and having suffered much from dislocation in the 2nd book and, as I believe, in the 3rd also. Of the four sections, into which the 3rd book is divided, the whole of C (dealing with the Stoic argument in proof of the Providential Government of the universe) and a considerable portion of D (dealing with the argument in proof of a special Providence ordering the affairs of men) have been lost; and smaller losses occur in the same book at the end of §§ 13 and 64, and in I §§ 25, 65. The great instance of dislocation is in the 2nd book, where §§ 16—86 are placed after § 156, but in my note on III 43 *ut jam docebo*, I have attempted to show that we have there also a transposition in the MSS of §§ 53—60, which ought to come before § 43. For examples of what appears to me dislocation on a smaller scale, see the notes on I 6 *qua quidem in causa*, I 97 *an quicquam—vidimus* (which, following Bake, I have transferred to the end of § 88), II 110 *atque ita dimetata—appareat*, transferred to § 104, also II 167 *magnis copiis*, III 29 *cumque omne animal*, § 34 *etenim*, § 70 n. on *Da* (3). The cause of the dislocation in Bk. II was doubtless that the archetype had come to pieces and was bound up again in wrong order, without any regard to sense. So B (Cod. Leid. 86) interposes part of the *De Divinatione* after *N. D.* I 64, giving the following §§ (64—91) after *De Fato* § 4, see note on the latter passage in Orelli's ed., and Bake's ed. of the *De Legibus* p. 104 foll., where B is thus described "*constat quaternionibus* XXIV. *quorum singula octo folia habent. Ceterum descriptus esse videtur e libro cujus quaterniones misere disjecti essent; locis quippe plurimis, continuata scriptura, alienissima interponuntur, omniumque ordo et series turbantur, quae tamen ne legenti fraudem faciant, vetus manus in margine subinde solet indicare.*" In Bk. III I have suggested that it may have been Cicero's own intention to omit the mythological section, and that this was afterwards inserted by the original editor in a wrong place. As to the smaller transpositions they are probably owing to the wrong insertion of marginal notes or of additions written on slips of parchment which got fastened to the

wrong leaves. As to actual losses, some have attempted to account for these by supposing that the Christians destroyed the argument against Providence as impious, others relying on the statement of Arnobius to the effect that some of the treatises of Cicero caused much scandal among the Pagans, have retorted the charge on the latter*; but there is no reason to have recourse to either supposition. The condition of the archetype, as proved by the transpositions in Bk. II, is quite sufficient to account for the loss of other portions, and we meet with similar phenomena in the *Leges*, the *De Fato*, the *Respublica*, and other treatises.

These being the undoubted facts, as shown by all the MSS, we have next to inquire which of the MSS best represent the archetype and what are their individual characteristics and their relations to each other. The oldest of the MSS of the *N. D.* is the Vienna codex (V) of the 10th cent., but portions of the treatise have been preserved in a MS of the 9th century described by Narducci, of which an account is given in the *Jahresbericht über d. Fortschritte d. classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* for 1883, vol. 35, p. 75. The chief fact of importance noted in regard to this MS is that in book II it exhibits the same dislocation as the other MSS.

There is much resemblance between V and the Leyden codex (A) of the 11th century, which comes nearest to it in age. In both we find careless mistakes, but very rarely any signs of an attempt to alter the reading in order to make sense, such as we shall see reason to suspect in BCE. The Palatine codex (P), which is called *perantiquus*†, is I presume of about the same date as A. It is not only

* See Olivet's French translation of the *Natura Deorum* vol. III p. 87 n., citing Arnob. III 7 *ante omnes Tullius Romani disertissimus generis, nullam veritus impietatis invidiam, ingenue constanter et libere, quid super tali opinionatione* (the distinction of sex in deity) *sentiret, pietate cum majore monstravit, a quo si res sumere judicii veritate conscriptas, non verborum luculentias pergeretis, perorata esset haec causa....Sed quid aucupia verborum splendoremque sermonis peti ab hoc dicam, cum sciam esse non paucos, qui aversentur et fugiant libros de hoc ejus... cumque alios audiam mussitare indignanter et dicere, oportere statui per senatum, aboleantur ut haec scripta quibus Christiana religio comprobetur et vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas? Quinimmo si fiditis exploratum vos dicere quidquam de dis vestris, erroris convincite Ciceronem...Nam intercipere scripta et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est deos defendere, sed veritatis testificationem timere.*

† Ebeling in *Philologus* XLIII 4 p. 703, which has reached me since the above was put in type, assigns it to the 10th cent. He also gives a short account of the Laurentian Cod. 257 at Florence, which he considers to be of the 11th cent. It agrees with B (against AC Oxf.) in making the dislocation of Bk II commence

careless but capricious and for the most part quite indifferent to making sense. The first two I regard as honest but somewhat incompetent witnesses, the writer of P has no intention to deceive, but his inaccuracy almost amounts to dishonesty, while the writer of B, a far more competent witness, as far as ability goes, is not satisfied merely to report, but deliberately sets himself to improve the readings of the archetype. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to adduce any evidence of the carelessness of APV, as that will be apparent to any one who will glance over the readings of a chapter or two in Orelli's edition, but I shall endeavour to show (1) that A and V are independent of each other, but approach more nearly to one another than to any of the other MSS, (2) that B is connected with the archetype by a different line of descent from the others, and has frequently preserved the true reading which has been lost by them, but that it also alters the mistaken readings of the archetype so as to make sense. The varying disarrangements in BPV seem to show that these are mutually independent and are not copied either from A or from the immediate ancestor of A; and this conclusion is confirmed by the subjoined comparison of particular readings. I have compared the readings for the 3rd book, as the MSS are less imperfect for this than for the earlier books. I give first those readings in which the unaltered A and V agree against BC and P, taking no account of Orelli's 6th codex E, belonging to the 15th century. In making this comparison it must be remembered that it is only of APV that we have the complete readings in Orelli's edition. Where the true reading is not that of AV it is given first in round brackets. Readings conjectured *ex silentio* in Orelli's *apparatus criticus* are put in square brackets, as in the critical notes.

§ 4. (*parum*) *parvam* A^1V^1.
§ 5. (*religionesque*) *religionisque* AV^1.
(*C. Laelium*) *clelium* AV^1.
(*auspicia*) *ospicia* AV^1.
harum ego AV (al. *harum ergo*).
§ 8. (*quod esset perspicuum*) *quod est p.* AV^1.
§ 10. (*candens*) *cadens* A^1V.
§ 11. (*grave*) *gravem* AV^1.
§ 15. (*at*) *ad* A^1V^1.

with § 15 after *vicissitudines*, instead of § 16 after *quam deum*, and in reading *requiro* after *rationes* at the end of III 13.

§ 15. (*placari*) *placeri* AV^1.
(*equo*) *aequo* AV.

§ 18. (*omniaque quae a te*) *omnia quae ad te* A^{1}V^1.
(*nudius*) *nudus* A^{1}V^1.

§ 21. (*velis*) *vellis* AV^1.

§ 22. (*dilatavit*) *dilata lavit* V^1 (and by corr. fr. *dilatavit*) A, see n. in loc.

§ 23. (*philosophus*) *philoso* A^1, *philosoph.* V^1.

§ 24. (*siciliensi*) *siilicensi* AV^1.
(*fervore*) *ferbore* A^{1}V^1.
(*Britannici*) *brittannici* AV.

§ 25. (*aram*) *aramā* A, *aranam* V^1.

§ 29. (*illa*) *illam* A^{1}V.

§ 34. *umida* A^{1}V, al. *humida*.

§ 35. *umore* AV, al. *humore*.
(*hoc*) *ho* A^{1}V^1.

§ 37. (*solstitiali*) *solistitiali* AV^1.

§ 39. (*inscitiam*) *inscitam* A^{1}V^1.

§ 45. *maritumae* AV, *maritum hae* P, *maritimae* BCE.

§ 46. *lucus* [AV], *lucis* B^1, *locus* C, *lucos* P.

§ 53. (*filii*) *fili* AV^1.

§ 56. (*Penelopa*) *poenelopa* AV. (*nefas*) *nefans* A^{1}V^1.
(*Aegyptiis*) *Aegyptis* A^{1}V^1.

§ 58. (*confici*) *confeci* A^{1}V^1.

§ 59. (*Elide delubrum ?*) *elidelubrum* AV.
(*Apollinis*) *Apollonis* AV^1.

§ 62. (*qui*) *quiqui* A^{1}V^1.

§ 65. (*istac ibit*) *ista ibit* AV^1.

§ 68. (*coinquinari*) *quoinquinari* AV^1.

§ 69. *scaena* AV, al. *scena*.

§ 71. (*si his*) *si is* AV^1.

§ 73. (*cedo*) *caedo* AV.

§ 74. (*conducto*) *conduto* AV.

§ 76. *quom* V^1 and probably A^1.

§ 78. (*reprehendenda*) *repraendenda* A, *reprendenda* V.

§ 80. (*Reguli*) *reguilis* V^1, *regiulis* A^1 probably.

§ 81. (*supplicioque Q. Varius*) *supplicio quae que Varius* AV^1.
si AV (al. *sic* &c.)

§ 82. (*soleo Platonem legens*) *soleo l. platonem legens* AV (probably beginning *legens* out of order. B. has *l* superscr.)

§ 83. (*Syracusas*) *seracusas* AV¹.
§ 84. (*fulmine*) *flumine* A¹V¹.
§ 85. (*ratione*) *rationem* A¹V¹.
§ 86. (*fructuum*) *fructum* A¹V¹.
§ 91. (*Critolaus*) *critolauus* AV¹.
(*Corinthum*) *corhintum* AV.
§ 94. (*cingitis*) *cincitis* A¹V¹.

This gives 55 instances in which AV agree against the other MSS, while the agreements between either of them and any other single MS do not amount to more than 13, as may be seen from the following lists (1) of agreements between V and one other MS, (2) between A and one other MS.

(1) Agreements between V and any other single MS.

§ 1. *factu* [BV] (al. *factum*).
§ 4. (*sin me*) *si me* BV.
§ 11. *cotidie* CV (*cottidie* AB).
albis PV, *aluis* A, *alius* CE, *ab his* B, where A has the not uncommon misreading *v* (*u*) for *b*, and CB are evident emendations.
§ 14. *secuntur* BV¹.
§ 15. *nihil* BV, al. *nil*.
§ 21. (*id quoque*) *ut quoque* PV¹ and perhaps A¹.
animum [PV], *animam* ABCE.
§ 38. (*dilectu*) *delectu* CV.
§ 39. *Leucotheam* BV¹, al. *leuchotheam*.
§ 42. (*Karthaginem*) *cartaginem* CV.
§ 46. *honores* [CV], al. *honoris*.
§ 47. (*faelis*) *felis* BV¹.
§ 50. (*filiaeque*) *illiaeque* CV, *iliaeque* A.
§ 51. (*fluctibus*) *fructibus* PV.
§ 54. (*appellatum*) *appellatus* BV.
§ 56. (*is*) *his* VB¹. (*Theuth ?*) *theyr* CV.
§ 61. (*aut enim*) *autem enim* PV¹.
§ 67. (*Medea*) *media* VB¹.
§ 72. (*comicae*) *comice* CV.
§ 74. (*de fide mala tutelae*) *de fide mala at utile* PV, see further below.
§ 75. (*sementim*) *sementem* PV.
§ 76. (*si ista*) *sed ista* V¹B.
§ 78. (*illam quam*) *aliam quam* PV.
§ 84. (*auferri*) *auferi* BV¹. (*impietatem*) *impletatem* B¹V.

§ 86. (*Rutilii ?*) *rutili* BV.
§ 88. (*immolavisse ?*) *immolasse* PV.
§ 91. (*judico*) *judicio* PV[1].
§ 93. (*gentis*) *sentis* PV. (*contemnet*) *contempnet* PV.

This gives 13 agreements between V and B, 12 between V and P, 7 between V and C.

(2) Agreements between A and any other single MS.

§ 3. (*par ratio*) *paratio* A[1]B[1].
§ 11. (*tu*) *tu quae* AC.
§ 19. (*tacitae*) *tacite* AC.
§ 32. (*omittamus*) *ommittamus* AC.
§ 37. (*cur*) *quur* AC.
§ 41. *Accius* AB, al. *actius*, &c.
§ 45. (*olivae*) *ōlive* AC.
§ 47. (*omniaque quae*) *omnia quaeque* AC.
(*accipitres*) *accipitros* AP and perhaps V[1].
§ 49. (*Erechtheus*) *erectheus* AB.
§ 54. (*Heliopolis*) *eliopolis* AC.
§ 64. (*comprehendere*) *comprendere* AP
§ 68. (*cepit*) *caepit* AC.
§ 74. (*it praetor*), *ite praecor* AC. (*Plaetoria*) *letoria* AC.
§ 76. (*etsi hi*) *et sibi* AC.
§ 78. (*meracius sumpturum*) *meratius sumturum* AC.
§ 83. (*manubiis*) *manubiis is* AP. (*Aesculapii?*) *Aesculapi* AB.
§ 85. *dissignata* AB, al. *designata*.
§ 86. (*questus*) *quaestus* AB.
§ 89. (*neglegere*), *neclegere* AB. *multi* [AB], *multis* CPV[1].

This gives 8 agreements between A and B, 12 between A and C, 3 between A and P as contrasted with 55 agreements between A and V.

I proceed now to examine the readings in which the accepted text rests on the authority of a single codex.

True text preserved by V alone.

§ 11. *credis esse*, where A has *credidisese*, B *credissesse* corr. in *credidisses*, CP *credidisse*, *credisse* E. Here the variety of readings suggests a fault in the archetype: if it had *credidsesse*, this might easily be corrupted into the other readings and corrected in V.

§ 20. *a consuetudine enim*, where *enim* is omitted by the other MSS and given in contraction by V. In this case there can be little doubt that V represents the archetype.

§ 35. *quem ipsum non omnes interpretantur uno modo, qui quoniam quid diceret intellegi noluit, omittamus*, where the other MSS omit *qui* and even V seems uncertain. Baiter thinks *non omnes—modo* to be a gloss, which would naturally suggest a connecting *qui* before *quoniam*: on the other hand *qui* would easily be lost before *quoniam*.

§ 62. *talis a philosophia pellatur error*, where the final *a* of *philosophia* (which probaby commenced a new line in the archetype) is written separately in V[1]. From this the readings of the other MSS would easily spring, viz. *t. a philosophiappellatur error* A, *t. a philosophi appellatur e.* B[1]C, *t. philosophia appellatur e.* B[2] (evidently altered to make sense), and so *t. a philosophis appellatur e.* PE and V[2] (only that the last has *apellatur*).

§ 70. *quisquamne istuc negat* by corr. in V, where A has *quisquam iuste* (*iuste* being 'in ras.' by a late hand), C *quisquam istuc*, BP *quisquas istuc* (*quas* cancelled in B), *quid istud* E. I am inclined to think the archetype had *quisquā stuc* (for exx. of *stuc* in Cicero's MSS see my n. and Lachmann's Lucr. p. 197), so that here the unaltered B and P are its best representatives.

§ 73. *neque ut inde auferam* (see n. *in loc.*) which, written continuously in the archetype, is nearly the same as V[1] *neque tinde auferam*; the other readings are easily explicable from V, viz. *neque unde auf.* ACEP, and *ne quid inde auf.* B, which may be compared with the superscription of *quid* over *neque* in V[2].

§ 84. *pecunia edixisse* V, where B[1] has *pecuniae dixisse*, and AB[2]CP *pecunia dixisse*. Here it would seem that B must be either taken directly from a MS in which the words were not separated, or (as I think more probable), from a MS wrongly copied from such an archetype.

To these some would add § 66, where V has *permiciem* see *in loc.*

True text preserved by A alone.

§ 67. *posquam* (so Baiter), others *postquam*.

§ 68. *quem clam Thyestem*, see nn. P has *quem cleanthyestem*, C and by corr. B have *quendam thyestem*, V *quem dant hyestem*, (corr. fr. *hyestim*), E *quam dant thiestem*. Here there can be no

doubt that A represents the archetype, that in CB and V *cl* have been mistaken for *d* and that in V the letters were wrongly grouped. This seems to show that A is independent of V.

§ 11. *Sagram* A, all others are allured by the easier *sacram*.

§ 22. *inanimarum* AB^2V^2, *inanimatarum* B^1V^1E, *animarum* C. There can be little doubt that the archetype (*a*) is represented by A and that the commoner form is written by error in B^1V^1.

§ 48. *duces* A^1, right as shown by the following *respondebis*, B^1CEV^1 have by carelessness *ducis*, PA^2V^2 *dicis*, B^2 *dices*.

§ 71. *commemorabantur* A, *commemorabatur* others.

§ 89. *quidam* A (so Baiter), *quidam amicus* the other MSS, except that B^2 has *quidem*. It seems more likely that A should have overlooked *amicus* than that it should have been inserted by the rest.

True text preserved by B alone.

§ 4. *parum, parvam* AV^1E, *parva* CV^2. Probably *a* had *parū*, which being followed by *accepi* would suggest *parva* or *parvam*: or, if Madvig is right in reading *cepi*, *accepi* may have arisen from *paruā cepi* in *a*, in which case B's reading would be an emendation.

§ 8. *quod esset perspicuum* BV^2, where AV^1 have *q. est p.*, and CE *q. et p.* probably by mere carelessness.

§ 11. *eos tu cantheriis*: here V has *tuq.*, P *tuque*, AC *tu quae*, E *que tu*. I am inclined to think that the *q.* of V (and probably of *a*) was intended to be the first letter of *cantheriis*, spelt with *qu* for *c*, like *quotta* for *Cotta*, *quoinquinari* for *coinquinari*, *quohaerere* for *cohaerere*, *quorum canium* for *Coruncanium*. We have a similar instance of a word just begun in § 82 *l. Platonem legens* noticed above.

§ 13. *rationes requiro* BV^2. Baiter with the other MSS omits *requiro* and it was no doubt a natural word to supply, but A's reading of the following word, *recuntur* for the *secuntur* of BV, seems to have arisen from *requiro sequuntur*, the eye of the scribe passing from the 1st to the 2nd *qu*. If so we must suppose an intermediate link between *a* and AV on the one side, as between *a* and B on the other side, the former link having *recuntur*, changed by V^1 into *secuntur*, the latter preserving the reading of *a*.

§ 18. *omniaque quae a te* BV^2, *omnia quae a te* APV^1 (*d* erased after *a* in AV), *omnia quaeque a te* C, *omnia que a te*. Here APV

must either represent the archetype, emended by V[2] and B, or else the former are derived from the same incorrect copy of *a*.

§ 24. *fieri non possunt* B[1], all others *nonne*. There can be little doubt that *non* is what Cicero wrote, but the reading *nonne* is not so objectionable as to call for emendation. It would seem therefore that B here represents the archetype, and that the others are connected with it by a medium which in this instance proves to be less trustworthy.

§ 26. *Orionem* B, *orationem* ACEPV. Here in all probability *a* had a contraction wrongly interpreted by all but B *.

§ 27. *cientis* [B], *scientis* ACEPV. This is another evidence showing that B is connected with the archetype by a different line of descent from that of the others.

§ 42. (*Lysithoe est*), *Lysitho est* B (perhaps *Lysithoest* in *a*), *Lysito est* ACPV, *lisito est* E.

§ 43. (*capedunculis iis*), *cap. his* B, om. *iis* ACEPV. The demonstrative seems necessary, but was of course easily lost after *-lis*.

§ 47. *ibis* B, *ibi* AEV[1], *ibī* C, *ibes* V[2], nothing said of P. Here C appears to represent *a*, while AV have neglected to mark the abbreviated *s* and B has written it out in full.

§ 49. *si sunt hi di* BE, *si sunt di* A[1], *si sunt id* V[1], *si sunt ii dii* C, *si hi sunt di* P, *si sunt hii di* A[2], *si sunt hi dii* V[2]. Probably *a* omitted the demonstrative, as in § 43 *si di sunt*, where I have added *isti*. If Cicero wrote *si hi di sunt*, it would be easy for *hi* to drop out, and the variety of readings suggests that each scribe reinserted it, where he thought best.

§ 52. *jam* B, *tam* CEV, and probably A[1], *tum* A[2], nothing said of P. Here B either follows a separate tradition or has emended the common archetype.

mare B, *mater* ACEPV. An abbreviated *mater* might easily be mistaken for *mare* and v.v. The readings may be most easily explained by supposing two recensions of *a*, one followed by ACPV (*β*), the other by B (*γ*).

§ 54. *Mnemosyne* [BP], *nemosine* E, *nemo sine* ACV (*nemo* 'in ras.' A) †.

§ 57. *Cynosuris* [BP], *gynosuris* ACE, *ginosuris* V[1].

§ 66. *exitium* BE, *exitum* ACPV. It seems more probable that

* Deiter (*Rh. Mus.* 1882 p. 314) states that B has *orationem* like the rest.

† Deiter gives *mnemosine* as B's reading.

the 1st recension (β) should have gone wrong than that B should have corrected *exitum*.

§ 75. (*abiegnae*) *abiegne* by corr. in B, *abigne* all others.

§ 82. *Anaxarchum* [BP] *anxarcum* A[1]CE, *anxarchum* V.

§ 83. *praedo felix habebatur* B, *p. filia h.* ACEPV, the inferior MSS have *fulia, filica, summus, in Pamphylia* &c. I have sometimes thought that *felix* and *filia* might both be corruptions of γαζοφύλαξ, that being the office held by Harpalus at the court of Alexander, but if so, several words must have been lost. It does not seem possible that *felix* should have been an emendation of *filia*, so that we must in any case recognize here again two recensions of *a*.

manubiis, BEC[2], *manubiis is* AP, *manubiis iis* V, *manibiis* C[1]. Here I should think the reading of AP is that of the 1st recension of *a*, arising from dittographia of *-is*, V's reading would be a natural correction of this.

§ 84. *quod quisque sacri haberet* B (so Ba.), *q. q. a sacris h.* ACEPV. Here it hardly seems possible for the one reading to have grown out of the other by inadvertence, and as there was more to tempt an intelligent scribe to alter the latter than the former reading, I am inclined to consider *sacri* an emendation.

in tyrannidis rogum B, *in typanidis rogum* AEPV, *in timpanidis rogum* C. If my view of the passage is right (see n. in loc.), several words are omitted owing to homœoteleuton; B has preserved *tyrannidis*, but altered *ut* into *in* with all the other MSS.

True Text preserved by C alone.

§ 23. *saepe dixti* C, *dixi* ABEPV. It is easy to understand an ignorant or careless scribe writing *dixi* for *dixti*, but how are we to account for C? Is it directly copied from *a*, or is it a correction, not needing very much acuteness, of a wrong traditional reading?

§ 41. *in monte Oetaeo* C, *in monte moetaeo* AEPV, *in monte metaeo* B. I have suggested that the prevalent reading may have originated in *in montem oetaeum* wrongly divided. If so, C's reading is an emendation.

§ 42. *accepimus* CEV[2], *accipimus* others. An easy emendation.

§ 52. *nihil horum* CEV[2], *nihil honorum* ABV[1], *n. bonorum* P. The abbreviations of *honorum*, *bonorum* and *horum* are easily confused, the only question is how C got the right reading. I think by emendation or by copying from V[2].

§ 54. *Pierias* C, *plerias* ABE, *proelias* P, *pleridas* V. Here it would seem that *a* must have had *plerias*, variously corrupted in PV; C is an easy emendation.

§ 65. *consulantne di rebus humanis* C, for *di* the other MSS have *de*, which is a very natural corruption of original *di*, and was probably the reading of *a*, corrected by C.

§ 72. *quod sumas, quanto dissipes libentius* CE; for *dissipes* ABPV[1] have *dissipis*, V[2] *dissipas*. Here too I think it is easiest to regard C's reading as a correction of *dissipis*.

§ 74. *de fide mala tutele* (for *-lae*) C, *de fide fidem alatat utile* A, *de fide allata tutelae* B, *de fide mala at utile* PV, *de fide mala tot utiles* E. Here A must have arisen from a wrong division of words (*de fidem alat utele*) and a double dittographia of *fide* and *at*: perhaps in *a* the line ended with *at*. I think it probable that here too C's reading is an emendation, as B's certainly is.

§ 83. *grave* C, *gravem* all others. Probably *amiculum* was mistaken for the diminutive of *amicus* and so made masculine. C's reading I take to be an emendation.

§ 86. *cuipiam nocuit* C, *quipiam n.* A[1]B, *quippiam n.* A[2]V (nothing said of E and P). Here I think the original reading was probably *quoipiam*, corrupted to *quipiam* in *a*, and variously emended by V and C.

§ 94. *in eam* CE, *ineram* (with *r* erased) A, *in eram* BP[1]V[1], *in istam* P[2], *in meram* V[2]. Here *a* must have had *eram*, CE are no doubt corrected after A.

True text preserved by P alone.

§ 26. *conformatum* [P], *confirmatum* others.

§ 66. *istuc istac ibit* PE (perhaps B[1]), *istuc is tacebit* C, *istuc ista ibit* AVB[2], *isthaec* marg. V same hand. There can be no doubt that P here represents *a*, and that the form *istac* being not very common, got corrupted in ABV; the marginal reading of V is probably an attempt to explain *istac*.

§ 92. *hanc* PV[2], *haec* others.

I go on to give some crucial instances illustrating the character of the different MSS.

§ 13. *de Sagra*. All the MSS have gone wrong here, ACEPV having *sacra* by inadvertence, but B changes this into *sacris* to suit the context.

§ 14. *commemorabas* BPV², *commorabas* ACEV¹. Here I think ACV represent *a* corrected in BP.

§ 15. *audivi; tibi si* ACV, *audivit quam si* (*quam* in ras.) B, *audivit. tu si* P, *audivi Bis se* E. The origin of the wrong readings is misdivision (*audivit ibi si*), which is corrected with intelligence by B and P, and without sense by E.

§ 16. *unus is modus est* ACEPV², for *is* V¹ has by a common mistake *his*, which B alters into *ex his* to make sense.

§ 18. *quoniam esset aliquid in rerum natura...esse aliquid homine melius* ACPV, *q. esset aliquit hominem aliquid in rerum* &c. (*si* superscr. before *esset*) B, the eye of the copyist passing from the 1st to the 2nd *aliquid*, and then *si* being inserted to give a construction; E has *si esset aliquod.*

§ 19. *ab hac ea questione...separantur* ABPV, *ea* om CE (mistaking it for a superfluous abl. sing.).

§ 25. *aram* BCE, *aramā* A, *aranam* V¹, *arenam* V², *aram aut* P. The varieties here can be best explained by supposing a dittographia in *a*, altered in V and P to get some approach to sense. The correct reading was an easy emendation.

§ 26. *aedificatum* ACEPV, *aedificatum esse* B Mu. Sch. The insertion of *esse* is an easy emendation, which to my mind rather spoils the rhythm of the sentence.

§ 27. *naturae ista* CEPV, *naturae ste* A, *natura istae* B. Probably B is a correction of *a*, represented by A, *ste* being carelessly written for *sta**.

§ 31. *mollis est* CEV², *mo* V¹, *mollest* A¹, *molest* B¹, *molle est* A²B²P. Here *a* probably had the abbreviated *moll-est*, written as one word by A, omitted as a monstrosity by V, and altered to the more familiar *molest* by B.

§ 43. *meliora me didicisse...capedunculis...quam rationibus:* this is the reading of all the MSS, but C adds *refersit* to find a government for *quam*, which it takes for the relative.

Panisci ABPV, *Panes* CE.

§ 45. *sanctissume colunt* (with one letter erased before *colunt*) V, *sanctissimū ecolunt* A, *sanctissimum colunt* E, *sanctissimae colunt* P, *sanctissime colunt* BC. Here probably V (and *a*) had *sanctissume ecolunt* by dittographia of *e*, this was variously understood by A and P and emended by BCE.

* Deiter (*Rh. Mus.* 1882 p. 314) gives *naturae istae* as the true reading of B.

§ 46. *fanum est* BPV², *fanus est* ACV¹ (in A *s* erased), *fannus* E. Probably *a* had *fanū st*, corrected in BP.

§ 47. *lucus* AEVB², *lucos* P making it the object of *interpretor*, *lucis* B¹ perhaps to suit *Athenis*, *locus* C.

§ 51. *Arqui* A¹PV¹, *arcui* B, *arcus* A²V², *arci* CE. *Arqui* is plainly the reading of *a*, of which the others are corruptions.

§ 56. *Argum dicitur interemisse* [A²BCE], *argentum d. i.* A¹PV. Probably *a* had an abbreviation, misread by the first recension (β), but rightly interpreted by B and emended by C.

Aegyptum profugisse [CE], *aegyptum profuisse* AB¹V¹, *aegypto praefuisse* B²PV². I think *a* must have agreed with ABV, and that C and P are emendations.

§ 64. *dicamus indigna naturis* Madv. conj., *dicaliusu ignais* ACPV, *dic alio usu igneis* V², *dicamus dignais de dys* E., *dicamus digna dis* B. As *m*, *n*, *u* and *li* are frequently interchanged in the MSS, there is no difficulty about the first word, but how are we to explain the change from *indigna naturis* into *u ignais*? The last syllable is an abbreviation for *naturis*, so the problem is how to change *indignanais* into *u ignais*. The disappearance of the repeated *na* explains itself and we are left with *u* followed by hiatus to represent *ind.* If this is a correct account of the readings in ACPV it is plain that B and E are merely conjectural.

per mare BPV and (with *re* on erasure of four letters) A, *permanere* CE and probably A¹.

§ 65 fin. *ni ob rem* (see my n.), *ni orbem* V, *niobem* AC²E, *niobe* B; *in jovem* C¹, *an iobem* P, om. edd. with some inferior MSS. No one has attempted to offer any explanation of the oldest readings; it has been assumed that *Niobe* in B was a gloss giving the name of the speaker, but why in the world should Niobe have been selected? If *ni obrem* were the reading of *a*, this would naturally be changed into the more familiar *ni orbem* or *Niobem*, and B would naturally try to make sense by dropping the *m*.

§ 69. *pestifera est multis admodum paucis salutaris.* Instead of *est* A¹BEPV¹ have *sint*, CA²V² *sit*, in place of the original *st*; B retaining the plural mends the grammar by reading *salutaria*.

§ 70. *nocere Deianira voluit* ACEPV, *n. Dianae ira voluit* B by an ingenious emendation.

§ 72. *nec amet* BPA²V², *necari et* A¹V¹CE. I should suppose that B represents *a*, misread by β and corrected by P.

§ 74. *haec cotidiana, sicae, venena* ACEPV, *h. c. sica v.* B (altering the number to make it agree with *cotidiana*).

§ 75. (*dedisses*), *dedisse* E and before erasure of one letter B.

§ 79. *locum conficit cur di* ABEP, *locum conficitur di* V by carelessness, corrected in V² into *conficit utrum*, in C into *conficit ut*.

§ 81. *septimum consul* ABV¹, *septimus c.* CE, *septies c.* PV², both corrections of a less common construction.

§ 83. *qui cum ad* by corr. in BV, *qui quod ad* ABCPV, *qui quod cum ad* E. The original reading was probably *quom*.

§ 86. *quasi ego...de fundo...P. Rutilii sim questus* ABPV, instead of the last four words CE ingeniously emend *protulissem questus*.

I add a few examples from the earlier books.

I 5. *ut earum* C, *et earum* AE, *uetearum* B. Probably *a* had *etearum* with *u* superscript over 1st letter.

I 17. *aecum* A (and perhaps *a*), *aeqū* B, *fretum* (to govern following *judicio*) CE.

I 24. *ubinam* C, *ubinan* A, *ubinon* B¹, *ubi* B²E. Probably A represents *a*, corrected in B and C.

I 36. (*vi divina esse*), *ut divina esse* A, *ut divinam esse* B Oxf., *ut divina sit* E. It is plain that A is a misreading of *a* and that B and E are corrections to make some kind of construction.

I 37. (*sententia st qui a*), *sententias qui* ABE, *sentias qui* C (to make a government for the following *qui*).

I 43. *quoius* ABE, *cujus* C.

I 44. *fere constat* BE, *fieri constat* ACP. Probably B preserves the original, altered into a more common phrase by the others.

I 49. *viderit* CE, *viderat* AP Oxf., *videat* B. Both C and B seem to me conjectural emendations of *viderat*.

I 58. *L. Crasso* interpolated by BE, omitted by ACP Oxf. and no doubt by *a*.

I 63. *nonne aperte* B by corr. from *non ea parte*, *nonne a parte* AC, *none aperte* E. Perhaps in *a* one line may have ended with *none a* and the next begun with *perte*. If so, it would seem that B was corrected from the original.

I 65. *doce* P, *doces* ABCE Oxf. I suppose we must assume that P is a correction from *doces* in *a*.

I 66. *veri tamen similiora* A, *veri simili tamen similiora* PB² and (reading *simile* for *simili*) B¹E, *veri simile tamen si meliora* C. I think P represents *a*, the scribe of which began to write *similiora*

out of its place and then corrected it as A. B[1] and C would then be emendations.

I 67. *otio* A, *ocio* C, *optio* BEP Oxf. I think *a* must have had *optio* corrected in A and C.

punctis B Oxf., *cunctis* ACEP.

I 68. *ex atomis id natum* ACE, *ex atomi sit natum* B[1], *ex atomis sit natum* B[2], *ex atomis renatum* P.

I 70. *dicere turpius* BC, *diceretur pius* P Oxf., *diceretur plus* AE. Here *β*, i.e. AP (and V represented by Oxf.), seems to have misread the undivided text of *a*, rightly read by B and corrected by C.

(*nimis callide*), *nisi callide* CE, *nisi valde* ABP Oxf. I suppose *a* must have had an abbreviation of *callide*, misunderstood by the best MSS, but rightly rendered by C.

I 71. *quid sit quasi corpus aut quasi sanguis* B, *quid sit quasi sanguis* ACEP Oxf. Another proof that B is descended from *a* by a distinct line.

I 72. *crederem* A[2]B[2]E, *credem* A[1]B[1] and probably *a*, *credam* P Oxf., *credemus* C.

olet B, *floret* ACEP. Forchhammer thinks B an emendation, perhaps *a* may have had *ololet* or *loet*.

I 74. *consulto dicis* CE, *consulta dicis* ABP Oxf. Probably C is an emendation.

I 76. *nulla alia figura* ACEP, *nulla in alia f.* B by emendation.

I 77. *considera* BE, *consideras* ACP Oxf. and probably *a*, B being here an emendation.

I 80. *ecquos* A, *etquos* BCE.

I 82. *Apim illum* BCE, *apud nullum* C.

I 95. *bipes* BCE, *impes* C.

I 107. *Cercopis, Cerconis* AE and (by corr. fr. *Cratonis*) C. B gives the more familiar *cerdonis*.

I 114. *ne intereat* B with *a*, om. all others.

II 9. *peremnia* B with *a*, *perennia* ACE.

II 10. *crearet* B[1], *recrearet* AB[2]CE Oxf. Perhaps there may have been a dittographia of *cre* in *a*.

II 11. *consules* B, *quos* AC, om. E, *vos* Oxf. No doubt *a* had the abbreviated *coss.*

II 26. *liquor aquae declarat* C[2], *l. a. d. effusio* APV, *l. a. d. effusae* B, *l. a. d. effusioque* E, *l. a. dederat effusio* C[1]. Here *effusio* was probably a gloss on *liquor*, altered by B and E to make sense.

II 37. *cui nihil absit* B, *quo nihil absit* ACEPV. The original must have had *quoi* altered by B and misunderstood by the others.

II 61. *ipsa* B, *ipsa vis* ACEV², *ipsa vi* V¹. It would seem that the *vis* of the previous line had got wrongly inserted here, B alone representing *a*.

II 65. *planius quam* B, *planius quem* AV¹, *planiusque* V²E, *pleniusque* C. *Quam* was no doubt abbreviated in *a* and misread by all but B.

caelo B, *melo* A¹CEPV, *celo* A². Is B an emendation or the correct reading of *a* misread by the others?

II 69. *deflagravisse* [CEP]V², *deagravisse* A, *deam migravisse* V¹, *demigravisse* B (*mi* by corr.). Here I should suppose that A comes closest to the original, the letters *fl* being lost or obscured in *a*: V would then be a bold emendation, and the true reading conjecturally restored in P.

II 112. *cujus propter laevum genu* CV, *c. p. laeum genum* A, *at propter laevum genus omni ex parte locatas parvas* B¹, with *cujus* for *at* B², with *cujus* and *geny* E. It is plain that E follows B and that B is taken from the *Aratea*, see n. in loc.

II 114. *Chelis* B (probably corrected from *Aratea*), *cetis* AC.

II 117. *sublimis sed* B, *sublimi sed* ACPV.

II 126. *alvos ibes* [P] V², *alvos ibis* CE with *a*, *alvo sibis* A, *alvo sibi* B, *alvos hibis* V¹. Here B is evidently an emendation.

II 131. *varia et tam* V², *variae tam* AV¹, *varie tam* B, *varia tam* CEP. Probably AV represent *a* altered by B and the others.

II 134. *molitur* B with *a*, *mollitur* ACEPV*.

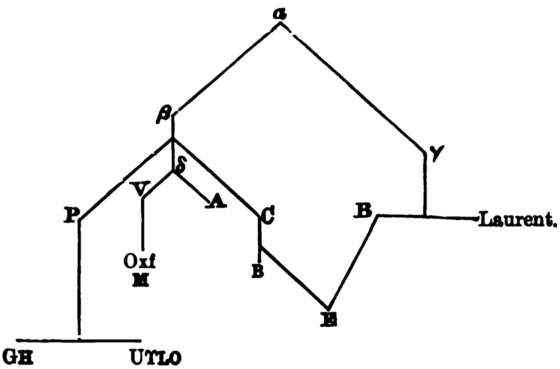
II 145. *omnisque sensus—antecellit* [APC], *omnesque s.—antecellit* EV¹, *omnesque s.—antecellunt* B, perhaps right.

II 147. *ex quo videlicet quid* [ACPV], *ex quo videmus quid* BE, no doubt an emendation to explain construction.

II 159. *fabricarier ensem et* AE (*er* in ras. A) V², *fabricari ferens emet* C, *fabricariferensem et* B (with *re* superscr. after *fer*), *fabricari ferro ensem et* V¹. Here it would seem that A¹B¹C all had substantially the same reading which must have been that of *a*. B² and V¹ are attempts to improve on this.

It appears from the above examination of the readings that we might arrange the MSS in a scheme as follows.

* Deiter l. c. says the true reading of B is *mollitur*.



This agrees fairly with Forchhammer's view (*Nordisk Tidskrift* for 1880, p. 23 foll.), except that he does not recognize any connexion between E and the 1st line of descent (β), whereas many instances will be found above in which E agrees with A and C against B. I think also he is wrong in speaking of the group (γ) as a *familia deterior*. Almost all the inferior codices may I think be affiliated to P. Again, where B alone has the true reading, Forchhammer will not allow that this is due to its being itself copied from the archetype or even to its belonging to a better tradition: in all such cases he holds that the true reading is an emendation. I do not think any one who has taken the trouble to look through the readings given above will accept this view of B. On the other hand I cannot agree with Müller (*Neue Jahrbücher* 1864 pp. 127—147, 261—281, 605—631) and Vahlen (in the introduction to his edition of the *De Legibus*) in ranking B higher than A*. It is undoubtedly less trustworthy, and though it is more often the sole representative of the archetype, this may be only because, A being closely allied with CPV, where A is right, these are usually right with it.

It may be worth while to add that the texts used by Priscian and Probus seem to have been in some respects better than our archetype, cf. II 117, 118 and 91 for Prob. 106, for Priscian.

* See notes in my vol. I. p. lxx.

THE MERTON CODEX OF CICERO'S DE NATURA DEORUM.

[Reprinted from the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XII. pp. 248—255.]

As I have had occasion to spend a good deal of time upon this Codex, which was kindly lent to me by the authorities of Merton College with a view to my edition of the *De Natura Deorum*, I think it may be useful that I should put on record what I have learnt as to its history and character.

We are told in the fly-leaf that it was given to the Merton Library by William Reade, a Fellow of the College, who was Bishop of Chichester from 1368 to 1385. He purchased it from Thomas Trilleck, who was Bishop of Rochester between the years 1364 and 1372. It is curious that the British Museum contains a MS volume of Latin Sermons (Royal MSS 10 A XI) similarly purchased from Trilleck by Reade, and presented by him to the College 'de Sancta Trinitate,' founded by Richard Earl of Arundel at Chichester. Both volumes have Bp Reade's library mark, and the fly-leaf in both shows the same handwriting, probably Reade's own.

The Merton Codex, which I have denoted as Oxf. in my 2nd and 3rd volumes, is a neatly written parchment volume consisting of 134 leaves or 268 pages. There are two columns in the page, each column containing 37 lines, and each line containing on the average 8 words. The words and sentences are divided. Abbreviations are frequent. It contains the three books of the *De Officiis* in 68 pages, two pages of *Epitaphia Ciceronis edita olim a duodecim sapientibus*, the three books of the *De Natura Deorum* in 64 pages, the 1st book of the *De Divinatione* (here called the 4th *De Natura Deorum*) as far as § 106 *duros ulta labores* in 21 pages, and the first four *Philippics* as far as IV § 15 *quem habebat amisit*. The 3rd *Philippic* is made to end at III 27 *victurum neminem*, the latter half (from § 28 *hodierno die* to *censuerint*) appearing as the 4th, and our 4th as the 5th. This completes the original codex ending at p. 200. The last 68 pages, which are occupied with Palladius *De Re Rustica* in 13 books, are written in a different hand belonging to the 13th century.

Mr E. M. Thompson of the British Museum has kindly examined the volume for me and informs me that the original Codex was written in England towards the end of the 12th century. As there are only three MSS which are definitely stated to be of an earlier date, viz. the Vienna Codex V of the 10th century, the imperfect Harleian **K**, and the Leyden Vossianus A of the 11th, to which we may perhaps add the Palatine (P), called *perantiquus* in Baiter's ed., it is evidently deserving of a full collation*. The only other MSS which can rival it in age are two others in the Leyden collection, Orelli's B and C (Baiter's H) both of the 12th century, and two French MSS which seem never to have been collated, one in the National Library at Paris no. 15085, said to be written at the end of the 12th century, and one in the Library at Tours no. 688, said to belong to the same century. I mention these last in the hopes that I may be able to learn further particulars about them from some of my readers, and also that I may perhaps hear of other MSS of equal antiquity which have escaped my notice. Halm in his preface to the Orellian edition of the philosophical treatises of Cicero mentions a Codex of the 11th century contained in the Munich Library (MS 528), but I am informed by Mr Reid that he can learn nothing further about this from the present Librarian.

Notwithstanding his neat writing, the scribe is undoubtedly very careless (1) in the division of words and sentences, (2) in mistaking uncommon for familiar words, (3) in repeating words or clauses, (4) in omissions arising from the recurrence of similar words or syllables. As examples of (1) I may cite *quid jus* for *quidvis* I 39, *in situ* for *nisi tu* I 57, *video* for *in deo* I 67, *feres* for *se res* III 66, *hoc diceretur pius esse* for *hoc diceret turpius esse* I 70, *invidia* for *in India* III 42, *quid doceam* for *quid Oceani* III 24, *tam utiles* for *tutelae* III 74. Examples of (2) are *carnales* for *Carneades* III 29, *triformis* for *Trophonius* III 49, *celsos* for *caesios* I 83, *teximus eo ede* for *Thelxinoe Aoede* III 54, *et amet* for *Aeetam et* III 55. Examples of (3) are III 17, where, instead of *plurima a te Balbe dicta sunt*, we read *plurima cum pulchritudine mundi B. d. s.*, the words *cum—mundi* being taken from a few lines below, where they followed *pulchra*, which the copyist probably confounded for the moment with *plurima*, and never corrected his mistake, if indeed he ever became

* For P and the Laurentian Codex 257 see the preceding Essay on Orelli's MSS.

aware of it. In the same way in III 33, instead of *nullum igitur animal aeternum est*, we read *n. i. a. appetit quaedam aeternum est*, without any attempt at sense, the words *appetit quaedam* being inserted from below, where they followed another *animal;* but the copyist writes on, apparently quite unconscious of his mistake. So in III 34, instead of *quin id intereat, etenim ea ipsa*, the copyist looking back a few lines sees another *intereat* followed by *necesse est*, and accordingly writes *necesse est* for *etenim* here: in III 71 (*inita subductaque ratione nefaria scelera meditantes*), the copyist on coming to *ratione* allows his eye to stray to another *ratione* some lines below and goes on there *qui in amore summo summaque inopia*, returning then to *nefaria*.

The last kind of carelessness specified was the omission of clauses owing to the recurrence of similar words or syllables. The following may be quoted as examples.

II 21 after *non utitur* om. *nihil autem—utitur*.

after *esse mundum* om. *similiter—esse mundum*.

32 after *pluris esse* om. *necesse est—pluris esse*.

36 after *non sit deterior* om. *mundi—homine deterior*.

43 after *praestantem intellegentiam* om. *in sideribus—intellegentiam*.

46 after *nihil sit melius* om. *mundo—id sit melius*.

47 after *absit extremum quantum*, om. *idem a summo—eruditum*.

64 after *vacare voluerunt* om. *ea parte—voluerunt*.

III 9 after *facerem in* om. *causis—facerem in*, which is however superscribed in the same hand.

18 after *esset aliquid* om. *in rerum—esse aliquid*.

29 after *omne animal* om. *tale est—omne animal*.

35 after *corpora intereant* om. *non—cum intereant*.

79 after *valere sic* om. *non—nemo sit*.

90 after *penis* om. *luendis—poetis*.

I 70 after *alterum utrum* om. *esse verum—concessit* before *esset*.

So in I 95 we read *nisi nunquamne vidisti*, instead of *nisi numquam vidi solem aut mundum beatum. Quid! mundum praeter hunc umquamne vidisti?*

In the great majority of the above quotations, if not in all, and in many similar cases the Merton Codex stands alone. While they show the carelessness of the copyist, they also show that he does not go wrong of malice prepense, like the writer of the Cambridge Codex, with the idea of improving on his original. He does not try

to make sense, and therefore his blunders are all of a mechanical nature. If we set aside these idiosyncrasies, the question arises, with which of the other MSS is this most closely connected. I think the instances given below, which might be multiplied to any extent, show conclusively that it is very nearly allied to the oldest known codex, Orelli's V, written in the 10th century, and to the Harleian Codex 5114 **M**, written in the latter half of the 15th century. To the same group belong the Roman and Venetian editions of 1471. The relation in which it stands to Orelli's V is curious. Where there is a second reading in V, this is usually followed in the Merton Codex (Oxf.), but not by any means universally, not in general where it is specified that the correction or marginal reading in V is written *secunda manu*, as in II 69, where V^2 has the correct *deflagravisse*, while Oxf. agrees with V^1 in the reading *deam migravisse*. Sometimes an older reading is preserved in Oxf., which has been corrected in V, thus in II 18 Oxf. has *appareat* and *ne cogitari*, where V has by correction *apparet* and *nec cogitari;* in II 56 V has *ementita* by correction, while Oxf. with **MCR** retains, what was probably the original reading of V, *ea mentita*. Sometimes both readings are combined, as in II 27 where V^1 has *eis fervescunt*, V^2 *effervescunt*, Oxf. *eis effervescunt;* II 127 where V^1 has *cursu*, V^2 *morsu*, Oxf. *incursu morsu*. Sometimes we observe a general resemblance combined with slight and probably accidental variation, as in II 123 where AB^1V^1 have *data elephantos* (doubtless representing an original *elephantost*), corrected to *d. elephanto* in B^2, to *d. elephantis* in PV^2**HMR**, and to *d. elephanti* in Oxf.; in II 146, where ABEP read *et parte tangendi*, V by corr. *et arte tangendi*, and Oxf. *arte et tangendi;* in II 42, where BC rightly give *id et*, and A^1PV^1 *id est*, V^2 has *id est que*, E *idem*, and Oxf. **MRCV** *idemque*. The conclusion to which these things point, seems to be that Oxf. was copied from V at a time when some, but not all the corrections, which are now found there, had been made. One would like to know whether Orelli's '*secunda manus*' always denotes the same handwriting and, if so, what is its date*. At the same time there are occasional difficulties in the way of this hypothesis: for twenty cases, say, in which Oxf. agrees with V against the rest of Orelli's MSS, we find one, it may be, in which Oxf. approaches more nearly to some of them than to V. Thus in II 86, where Baiter reads *ecferant*, AC have *et ferant*, B *haec ferant*,

* On this point see Detlefsen in the Vienna *Sitz. Ber.* for 1856, p. 117.

E *hec ferant*, V *eo ferant*, while Oxf. and **M** have *nec ferant*. Perhaps here the true reading of V may have been *ec*, misread *eo* by the collator, and then *ec* may have been changed to the more familiar *nec* by Oxf. In II 73 V has *locus*, the other MSS *locus est*, Oxf. *locutus est;* in II 64 BCV have *caelestem*, Oxf. **BM** *caelestium*, AE**CR** *caelestum;* in II 50 V with **HMR** has *tum australis*, while Oxf. has *aut aust.* with ABCEP**B**.

As V wants the whole of Book I, my examples are necessarily confined to the 2nd and 3rd books.

II 27 *subditis* V[2] Oxf. **M** Asc., *subitis* ABCEPV[1]**B**.

29 *in quoque genere* A[2]B Asc., *in quoquo g.* C**B**, *in quo g.* A[1]PV Oxf.

31 *cum homines* A[2]B[2]V Oxf. Asc. **HLMO**, *quin h.* CEP**B**.

33 *prima* ABEV Oxf. **BMV** Asc., *primo* CP**HLO**.

34 *in ulla* V[2] Oxf. **LM**, *in nulla* MSS generally, *in illa* **V** Asc.

38 *id quod* ACEG**BH**, *quod* BPV Oxf. **M**.

in equo quam in eculeo V[2] (sec. m.) and MSS generally, *nequaquam in eculeo* V[1], *nequaquam* (contracted) *in eque* Oxf.

id in perfecto CP**BM** Oxf. (*id* corr. fr. *is*) AV, *is in p.* BE.

41 *omnium* V[2] (sec. m.) and MSS generally, om. Oxf. V[1].

45 *restat* MSS generally, *sane* (repeated from *sanae* above) *restat* V Oxf. **MCV**.

47 *extremum quantum* V[2] Oxf. Red. Asc., *extremum* MSS generally.

48 *potest indoctius* ACEPV[1]**BH**, *potest esse indoctius* BV[2] Oxf. Asc. **LMO**.

49 *quot* CEPV[2]G**H** Oxf., *quod* AB[1]V[1]**BO**, *quid* B[2]**M**.

conficiat B by corr., *confeciat* A by corr., *confectat* CEP**BL**, *confecta* V Oxf. **MRV**.

51 *Saturni* by corr. BV also Oxf. **HM**, *Saturnis* A, *Saturnia* CE**B**.

56 *versantur* C**BH**, *versatur* ABEPV Oxf. **MC**.

59 *modum* AEV Oxf., *mundum* B[1]C**B**.

venis et Oxf. B[2]V[2]**MO**, *venisset* B[1]**B**, *venis sed* ACE, *venis nec* V[1].

61 *ea ipsa* B, *ea ipsa vis* ACEV[2] Oxf. Mus.*, *ea ipsa vi* V[1].

vides—vides V[2] Oxf. **MO**, *vides—vide* AV[1]B, *vide—vide* CE**B**.

* 'Mus.' denotes the consensus of the MSS in the British Museum.

62 *Semela* V Oxf., *semele* A^{2}BCE, *semel* A^1.

mysteriis ABCE**BO**, *ministeriis* V Oxf., **LMR**.

65 *planius quam* B**O**, *planius quem* AV^1 Oxf., *planiusque* EV^2**BLMRV**, *pleniusque* C.

66 *alteri* A^2, *alterum* A^{1}BCEV^1**B**, *altero* PV^2 Oxf. **HM** +.

69 *deflagravisse* CEPV^2 (sec. m.) **BH**, *deagravisse* A, *demigravisse* B by corr., *deam migravisse* V^1 Oxf.

abfuisset A^{2}V^2, *adfuisset* Oxf., *afuisse* A^{1}BC^{1}V^1, *affuisse* E.

70 *ut cum gigantibus* ABEV^1 Oxf. **M**, *id est gigantibus* V^2 (sec. m.).

71 *quos deos* ABCEV^1, *hos deos* V^2 Oxf.

76 *sit necesse est melius* ABCV^1 Oxf., *sit necesse est esse melius* V^2.

80 *nihil autem* ABCEV^1, *nihil autem est* V^2**M** +, *nihil autem esse* Oxf. **CR**.

83 *quacumque movemur* BV Oxf. **M**, *qua movemur* ACE +.

100 *saxa nativis* CEV Oxf. **M**, *saxasanativis* AB^1, *saxosanativis* B^2.

101 *spiritu* BV^2 Oxf. **M**, *spiritus* ACEV^1.

111 *Andromeda aufugiens* V Oxf. by corr. in A and B, *Andromeda haud fugiens* CP, *Andromeda haut fugiens* E.

114 *infernis e* BCP, *inferni se* V^1**M**, *inferni de* V^2 Oxf., *infernis de* E.

122 *ea est* BCE, *eas et* APV Oxf. **M**.

humilitas BCEV^1 Oxf., *humilatas* AP, *humiliatas* V^2.

123 *alii generis bestiis* P, *aliis generis escis* ABC^1, *aliis gen. estis* V^1, *alius generis escis* V^2 Oxf.

126 *purgantes* **O**, *purgante* ABCV^1, *purgatione* P, *purgare* V^2 Oxf. **M**, *purgantur* E.

127 *morsu* PV^2**M**, *cursu* ABCEV^1 +, *incursu morsu* Oxf.

129 *aiunt* Oxf. V by corr., *alunt* ABCEPV.

excuderunt ABCPV, *excuderint* EV^2, *excluserint* V marg. Oxf.

131 *varia et tam* V^2 Oxf. Asc., *variae tam* AV^1, *varie tam* B, *varia tam* CEP.

134 *constrictis* V Oxf. **MCR**, *constructis* ABCEP.

136 *ducant* ABC, *adducant* PV Oxf. **M**, *abducant* E.

138 *contagione* ABCEP +, *coagitatione* V Oxf. **M**.

143 *coniventibus* PV Oxf. **M**, *conluentibus* ABCE**BH**, *confluentibus* **LNO**.

150 *ad tibiarum* ABCEV^1, *ac tibiarum* PV^2 Oxf. **M**.

admotione B^{2}CPV^2 Oxf., *ad motionem* AEV^1, *admonitione* B^1.

151 *consectione* V^2 Oxf. **M**, *confectione* B, *confectionem* ACEPV^1.

153 *accipit ad cognitionem* A^{1}BCEPV^1, *acc. ab iis cogn.* V^2, *acc. ab his cogn.* Oxf. **MRV**.

162 *providentia* (by corr. fr. *prudentia*) V Oxf. **M**, *prudentia* ABCEP +.

167 *prosperae semper* ACP +, *prospere semper* BEV^1, *prospere eveniunt semper* V^2 Oxf. **RV**.

168 *vobis* ABCEPV^2, *quovis* V^1 Oxf.

III 8 *posses* Oxf. V^2, *possis* ABCEPV^1.

9 *coniveres* edd., *contuereris* EV^2 Oxf. **HMRV**, *contueres* ABCPV^1.

11 *praesentis* ABCE, *praesertis* V Oxf., *praesentes* V marg.

credis esse V Oxf., *credidisese* A, *credidisses* B, *credidisse* CP, *credisse* E.

13 *rationes* ACEV^1**B**, *rationes requiro* BV^2 Oxf.

14 *commemorabas* BPV^2 Oxf., *commorabas* ACEV^1**B**.

20 *velles* BPV^2 Oxf., *velis* ACEV^1**BH**.

21 *quid dicis melius* ABCEPV^2 (sec. m.), om. Oxf. V^1**MNCRV**.

23 *erit mundus* V marg. (ead. m.) Oxf. **MNCRV**, om. ABCEPV.

24 *habent* ABCEP, om. V^1, *habent vel servant* V marg. (sec. m.) Oxf. **MCV**.

28 *quasi consensus* Oxf. and MSS generally (*quidam* superscr. sec. m. V), *quasi quidam cons.* **H**.

29 *ferundam* edd., *fruendam* A^{1}BCEPV^1**BL**, *ferendam* A^{2}V^2 Oxf. **MCRV**.

35 *diceret intellegi* Oxf. V^2, *diceret quod intellegi* ABCEPV^1**B**.

omnem vim ABCEPV marg., *omnium* V by corr. Oxf., *omnia unum* **MCR**.

38 *nos* ABCEP, *non* V Oxf. **HMNR**.

nihil est nec esse ABCEP, *nihil esse nec esse* V, *nihil esse necesse* Oxf.

41 *sermonis* ABCEP, *sermones* V^1, *sermone* V^2 Oxf. **MCV**.

reddes ABCEPV^1**BHL**, *redde* V^2 Oxf. **M** +.

44 *aiebat* (2nd) ABCEPV^2, *agebat* V^1 Oxf. **BM**.

morbus edd., *modus* ABCEPV^1**BHL**, *motus* V^2 Oxf. **M**, *metus* **NCR**.

45 *Rhesus* BEP, *Hesus* ACV^1**B**, *Theseus* V^2 Oxf. **MNCRV**.

48 *duces* A^1, *dices* B, *ducis* CEV^1**B**, *dicis* A^{2}PV^2 Oxf. **M** +.

49 *Erechtheus* CP, *erectheus* AB, *eritheus* E, *eratheus* V Oxf. **M**², *aratheus* **M**¹.

60 *aliaque* edd., *atque* V Oxf. **MRCV**, *et* B², om. AB¹CEP.

79 *conficit cur* ABEP, *conficit ut* C**B**, *conficitur* V¹, *conficit utrum* V² Oxf.

COLLATION OF MERTON MS. (OXF. O) FOR BK. I.

[The readings of the Merton MS are in italics. Where it seemed desirable I have added the received text in brackets.]

1 *multae res in philosophia* om. *sint.* *agnitionem.* *quod tam variae sint.* *hominum sententiae tamque discrepantes.* *ut id* om. *esse debeat—sententias* § 2, om.

2 (quod) *quid.* *nihil agant* om. (iis) *his.* *primisque.* *dijudicatur.*

3 (ab iis) *ab his.* (a dis) *ab eis.* (juvare) *adjuvare.* (ab iis) *ab his.* *possit* om. (item) *ita.*

4 (ratione) *oratione.* (maturata) *natura.* (que quae) *que.* (ita) *in.*

6 (autem) *quoque.* *effunderet.* *relicto.* (studio) *studii.*

7 (ea) *eam.* (otio) *oratione.*

8 (minus) *minimus.*

9 *pertractandam* by corr. fr. *perpetrandam.* *aliae ex aliis nexae.*

10 *auctores.* (soleo id quod) *sollempnia.*

11 *disciplinam* om. *ercesila.* *si* om. (iis) *his.*

12 *me non profiteor secutum esse* in marg. *judicandi* om. *existit.* (iis) *is*¹, *his*².

13 *videntur* by corr. fr. *dicuntur.* *ut in sinefebis.* *omnium* once.

15 *c. cottam.* (est) *sit.* *epicuri.* *peroportune.* (mihi magna de re) *de re magna.*

16 *atqui.* *oportune.* *M enim* (contracted) *Piso.* (peripateticis) *hypatheticis* twice. *ille* om.

17 *vero inquit* om.

18 *solent* om. *intermundi is.*

19 (a deo atque aedificari) *adeo aedificarique.* *efficiendum.*

20 *palmaris.* (physiologiam) *philosophiam philiologiam.* (aliquod) *aliquid.* *pronoe vero si vestra est Lucili eadem requiro.*

21 (autem) *enim.* (conversione) *convenientia.* *metiebantur.* *non potest.*

22 (at iste) *ad ista.* (potest esse oblect.) *potest obl. esse.*

23 (mereretur) *meretur.* *venientia* corr. fr. *leni.* *naturam intellegentes.*

24 *nec cogitari.* (si minima) *summa.* *est pars pars est etiam* corr. fr. *est pars etiam etiam.* (pars obr.) *parsque obr.*

25 (vero sint) *vero? est ut.* *si sine sensu di possunt esse.* (eosque) *eos.*

26 *sed post axiaximenes.* *deus sine ulla forma* (superscr. *fortuna*). *ac ratione ac vi.* *sensu.* *in infinito* om. *in.* *quo non ipsa.* (animal aliquod voluit esse erit aliquid) *an. esse vol. aliquod erit.* (aliquid interius) *int. al.*

27 (quod) *quid.* (Alcmaeo) *alcineo* by corr. fr. *alcimeo.*

28 (item) *ita.* *reprehenditur.* *conventicium quiddam corone simile.* *stephanem.* *continentem ardorem lucis orbem.* *cingit.* *revocat.* (hoc omittantur) *hoc comitantur.*

29 (sensu omni) *sensu.* (habere quod liqueat) *qu. liq. scire.* *nonne deum—faciat* in marg. *aer qui.* *deo utitur.*

30 (anquiri) *an quaeri.* (ἀσώματον) *asamathon.* (careat etiam) *c. enim.* *et celum* repeated.

32 *unum* om. (dicens tollit) *dicens qua omnia regantur t.* (from below).

33 *magistro uno.* (dicit) *dixit.* *designaret.* *demum.* *esse* repeated after *beatus.*

34 (de) *in.* (fabulis) *famulis.* *tamen modo.* *vult* corr. from *tulit.*

36 (vi divina esse affectam) *ut divinam esse ac perfectam.* *appellatur.*

37 (censeat) *deceat.* (deus animans) *ne deus amans.* *deum mundum.* (tum totius) *cum t.* *qui aether.* (delirans) *deliberans.* *voluntatem.* (tum nihil) *cum n.* *divinius esse.*

38 (volumus) *voluminis.* (dicit) *dicunt.* *in deos* om.

39 *veterrimus.* (quidvis) *quid jus.* *ea quae* by corr. fr. *eam quae.*

40 *persequimur.*

41 *fabulas.* (poetae) *posse poetae.* (haec ne) *nec.* *sint.* *partum Jovis ortumque.*

42 *in deos.* (praeterea) *praeterita.* *omni tempore intemperantia.* *immortali.*

43 (ignoratione) *ignorantiae* (so **K**). (venerari) *vulnerare* (so **M** and *vulnerari* **H**). (et) *ut.* (habere debeat) *haberi debeatur.* *enim est.* *quod* om. *prolemsim.*

44 *esse* before *deos.* (esse igitur deos confitendum est) *est ig. conf. d. esse.* *fatemur.* *nomina* om. *prolemsim.*

45 (quod quae) *quod quaeque.* (nullos...impendere) *nullus...impediret.* *vitam et actionem mentis atque agitationem video.*

46 (ac) *hac.* (humanam) *humanorum.*

48 (quoniamque) *quoniam quia* (so **M**). *in* om.

49 *causam.* *viderat.* *tractet ut manu doceat.* (eam) *tamen.* *ad deos.*

50 (infinitatis) *infirmitatis.*

51 *tum...tum.*

52 *sive in ipso.*

53 *vacatione numerum.* *fabrica tamque eam.* *facilem.* *negetis.* *natura* om.

54 (oram) *horam.* (insistere) *existere.* *invisibilium athomorum volitat.* *choerescunt.* *vestris.*

55 *himarmanem.* *estimanda sit.*

56 *libertate vindicati.* *metuimus.* *habenda mihi.*

57 *atque.* (nisi tu) *insitu.* (ducam) *dicam.* *videri mihi.*

58 *L. Crasso* om. *id uberius.* *difficillima.*

59 (solebat) *accepissem* from below. (illa bene refellerentur) *ille refellerentur.* (venit) *evenit.* *ineptes.* *acciderat.*

60 (quale) *quare.* *mihi res.* *cetera qua.* (quid eorum) *qui deorum.*

61 (necne sint) *necne.* *in consensu.*

62 *deorum nulla suspitio sit.*

63 *aperte.* *nam et.* (quidem) *qui et.* *neque ut non sint neque ut sint.* (habeo) *ho.* *aut Neptuni.* *fuisset* om.

64 (vultis) *multis* (so HN).

65 *doces.* *nihil inesse individuum.*

66 *veri similia tamen similiora.* *partim autem angulata piramata quaedam et quasi adunca.*

67 (ne in deo quidem) *ne video.* (otio) *optio* (so BEPL). *punctis, an in.*

68 (quod enim) *quia enim.* (id natum aliquando est) *sit n. a. sit.* *in dumeta.*

69 *velud.* (suopte) *suo te.* *directa.*

70 (hoc dicere turpius est) *hoc diceretur pius esse.* *devinctionibus.* *utrum esset ejus modi* (omitting *esse verum—concessit*). (aut etiam 2nd) *aut negavit.* (Arcesilas) *Artophilas.* *nisi valde.*

71 *mirabilius quam vos.* *corpus aut quasi* om.

72 (equidem) *quidam.* *credam.* *ne ex leutico.* *putent.* *neodes.*

73 (metuit) *metivit.* *nausi fane.* (si haec) *si lex.* *inanes.* *eorumque.*

74 *quasi corpus—intellego* om. (nec consulto) *consulta.* *liqueat.*

75 (in Venere) *invenere.* (sanguis est) *s. non est.* *Epicuro.* (fac id) *facis.* *deorum* om.

76 *anticipatum.* (quod) *ut.* *debet.* *possit* before *quod.*

77 *quicquid.* *consideras.* (omnino—caecus) *omnium—cetus.* *in deo.* *imperatorum.* *se* om. (*tu*) *in.* *quam sui.* (aquilam) *aliquam.*

78 *enim dicam.* *vexat.* *corpori.* *naturae tanta.* *homini.* *difficili* after *similis esse* by repetition from above.

79 (cujus) *culus.* (formosus est) om. *est.* *nevus in hasticulo delectat pueri.* *quintus Catulus.* *exorientem.* (vestra) *vera.* *visus.* *aderat.* *sicuti.* *falsum.*

80 *et quos* thrice. *ac petulos.* (nihil inter) om. *nihil.*

81 (quid) *quod.* *iste—defendens.* *si.* *apparuisse.* *reliquos.*

82 *et spoliata simulacra.* *nefando.* *egipto.* *cocodrillum.* *lavinis.*

83 (physicum) *fuscum.* *ventilatoremque.* (caesios) *celsos.* *esse Athenis.*

84 *nescieris.* *istam effutientem* (so M). *at tu.* (tui) *tu.* *aut lunam* om.

85 *humano quo docui.* *ergo.* *sigillatim numerantes.* *fecerit.*

86 *iste.* *id esse immortale.* *ante te.* (his ille) *his ita religiones.*

87 *natura ponere.* (in ulla) *nulla.* *illustrationem.*

88 *attingimus.* *nonne.* *mediterranei.* *vulpeculas lepusculosque.*

89 *quae.* *quod autem.*

90 *factum est vultis.*

91 *semina.* (liberet) *juberet.*

92 *decreverunt.* *supervacaneum.* *loqueretur.* *quam interiora* om.

93 *hermacus.* (etiam Leontium) om. *etiam* (so **HN**). *ausa fuit* superscr. *sit.* *ortus.* *contumeliose.* *phedro.* *concideret.* *sillum.* *crisippam.*

94 *ne ulla.* *impetraretis.* (curatio) *oratio.*

95 *bipes.* *dicenda sunt.*

96 *numquam—praeter hunc* om. *numquamne.* (sescenta) *sententia.* (docebit) *videbit.* *beata et aeterna quae* om. *divinae naturae sunt.*

97 *elephante.*

98 *in homine* (so **A**). *loquare.*

99 *hoc* om. *supervacaneum.* *ad—ad* om. *membra* om. *quid ipsa—pertinet* om.

100 (et) *ad.* *haec fecisset.* *talis esse.*

101 *vivae noceant nec odore noceant.* *possunt.* *cochodrillorum.*

102 *Epicurus—existimant.*

103 *oportet et,* om. *et.* (sunt suus est cuique) *sunt suus cuique est.* *inundat.* *supremum aether.* *hora.* (terrenae sunt) *terrae ne sint.*

104 *attigerit est ulcus.*

105 (nec esse) *necesse.* (eandem permanere) *tandem—permanare.*

106 *ut igitur titum.* *inanem tum.* *octavi.* *tum pervenerint.*

107 *nunc etiam.* *quam omnium.* *incidere* om. *nec ex.* (id est) *quidem.* *incurrere.*

108 *fuerunt—potuerunt.*

109 (at) *ad.* *continenter quoquo modo.* *inquit.* *facient.* *eqilibram.* (etiam esse) *esse etiam.* (sane) *ea.*

110 *quae nulla sunt* om. (agitari) *attigari.* *animare non,* om. *non.*

111 *earundem.* *Epicuri.* *ne—quidem.*

113 (at) *ad.* *quibus quasi—delicatas voluptates* om. *sapientior.* (vestros) *nostros* (so **H**).

114 (at) *a.* *pulchro.* *quomodo videatur iste deus beatus.*

115 (P. Scaevolam) *scevolanum* (so **ABE**). *ut Xerxes.*

116 *elicere.* *voluptate.* *et scientia est.* *colendi sunt.* *accepto* om.

117 *liberare.* *libuerit.*

118 *prodigus chius.*

119 *horarum.*

120 (fontibus) *frontibus.* *ortulos.* (in universitate) *universitati.* *mentesque quae sunt.* *solent.* (animantes imagines) *an. virgines.* (omnia) *annua.*

121 *dignos.* *is idem.*

122 *inbecillitatem.* *nulla est,* om. *est.* *ductum.* *in nulla regentes.*

ANALYSIS OF BOOK III.

ACADEMIC CRITICISM OF THE STOIC THEOLOGY.

Introduction. Cotta regards the Stoic doctrine as deserving of more serious attention than the Epicurean; but is himself content to believe as his fathers did. If the Stoics profess to base their religion on grounds of reason, they must be prepared for criticism, ch. I § 1—ch. II § 6.

Criticism distributed under four heads.

A. *The Divine Existence*, ch. III § 7—ch. VIII § 19.

B. *The Divine Nature*, ch. VIII § 20—ch. XXV § 64.

C. *Providential Government of the Universe*, § 65. (All but a few lines lost.)

D. *Providential Care for Man* (beginning lost), ch. XXVI § 66—ch. XXXIX § 93.

Conclusion. Cicero gives his vote in favour of the Stoic, as opposed to the Academic view.

A. *The Divine Existence*, ch. III § 7—ch. VIII § 19.

Aa. If the belief in the Divine Existence is necessary and universal, as the Stoics allege, it is worse than useless to attempt to rest it on argument, which simply raises doubts as to the validity of the belief. §§ 7—10.

Ab. It is not true that the sight of the heavens leads to a belief in the Stoic God of Nature. §§ 10, 11.

Ac. General belief is a strange ground to allege for a philosophical conviction, especially on the part of those who hold the *vox populi* to be the *vox stultorum*. § 11.

Ad. The 'epiphanies' to which the Stoics appeal are mere rumour unconfirmed by evidence. §§ 11—13.

Ae. Divination is utterly fallacious, and would be of no benefit, if true. It cannot therefore prove the Divine Existence. §§ 14, 15.

Af. Of the other arguments adduced by Cleanthes, the two which deal with the blessings of life and the order of the heavenly bodies will be treated of under C: the awe-inspiring phenomena of nature, though they helped to produce the belief in God, yet are far from proving the validity of that belief. §§ 16, 17.

Ag. The arguments of Chrysippus as to the power, beauty and harmony exhibited in the universe, the syllogisms of Zeno, and the physical proof of the divinity of the universe are reserved for the same section (C). §§ 18, 19. (They are really treated of in section B.)

B. *The Divine Nature*, ch. VIII § 20—ch. XXV § 64.

Ba. Criticism of particular arguments of Zeno, Chrysippus and Xenophon. §§ 20—28.

(1) When it is said 'the universe is best and therefore divine', there is an ambiguity in 'best'. Granted that it is most beautiful and admirably adapted to our wants, but how is it most wise? If, as Zeno says, because what is wise is better than what is not wise, why not, on the same principle, make the universe to be a mathematician or musician? §§ 20—23.

(2) Again, as to the argument that the regular movements of the stars prove them to be divine, this is simply the regularity of nature: on the same principle we should call the tides divine. §§ 23, 24.

(3) Chrysippus uses 'better' in the same vague way as Zeno, and does not distinguish between nature and reason. It is no presumption in man to believe that he is himself rational and that the stars are made of brute matter. The comparison of the universe to a house begs the question. §§ 25, 26.

(4) Nor is there more weight in the assumption of the Xenophontic Socrates, that the rational soul of man must have proceeded from a rational soul in the universe; or in that (of Chrysippus) that the harmony of nature can only be explained on the supposition of one divine Governour. Both the harmony of nature and the soul of man are spontaneous products of nature acting according to her own laws. §§ 27, 28.

Bb. The argument of Carneades showing that no animal can be eternal (and therefore that the God of the Stoics is a figment). §§ 29—34.

(1) Whatever is corporeal is discerptible. § 29.

(2) Whatever is animated is capable of feeling, and whatever is capable of feeling is liable to impressions from without, and therefore to destruction. § 29.

(3) Whatever is composed of changing elements is itself liable to change and therefore perishable; but the four elements, of which all animals are composed, are changeable and perishable; therefore all animals are mortal. §§ 30, 31.

(4) Every animal is susceptible of pleasure and pain, but that which is susceptible of pain is susceptible of death. §§ 32, 33.

(5) Every animal has instinctive likes and dislikes for that which is in accordance with, and that which is contrary to its nature; but that which is contrary to nature is destructive to life; therefore every animal is liable to destruction. § 33.

(6) Sensation, whether pleasurable or painful, when it reaches a certain point is destructive to life. § 34.

(7) All things must be either simple, or compounded of different elements. A simple animal is inconceivable: in a compound each element has a tendency to fly apart to its proper sphere, so that decomposition is inevitable. § 34.

Bc. There is no reason to suppose that fire is more akin to Divinity than the other elements. §§ 35—37.

(1) It is not more essential to life than they are. §§ 35, 36.

(2) If it is the cause of feeling in man, it must itself be endued with feeling and therefore (by *Bb.* 4) liable to destruction. § 36.

(3) Moreover fire is not self-existent, but needs fuel for its support. § 37.

Bd. Virtue, as we understand it, is incompatible with our idea of the divine nature. Yet it is impossible to believe in a Deity without virtue. The incompatibility of virtue with our idea of God is shown in the case of each particular virtue, prudence (1), justice (2), temperance (3), fortitude (4). § 38.

Be. Even if we grant the divinity of the universe, what ground is there for admitting a host of other gods? ch. xv § 39—ch. xxv § 64.

(1) The vulgar mythology is not more irrational than that of the Stoics, who make gods of the stars, and of food, and of dead men. §§ 39—41.

(2) Admitting the principle of apotheosis, how are we to pick out the true claimant from among the many pretenders to each divine name? (For details see the Appendix on the mythological section.) §§ 42, 53—60.

(3) The sorites of Carneades shows that it is impossible to draw the line between what is divine and what is human or natural. §§ 43—52.

(4) No less absurd are the deified abstractions of the Stoics, and their whole system of allegorization with its strained etymologies. §§ 61—64.

C. *Providential Government of the Universe.* § 65. [This section is almost entirely lost.]

D. *Providential Care for Man*, ch. XXVI § 66—ch. XXXIX § 93. [A considerable portion of this section is lost, comprising probably (1) the argument founded on the endowments of man exclusive of his reason, which latter is considered below under *Da*; (2) that founded on the subordination of the animate and inanimate creation to man's good. Compare II §§ 133—146, 148—153, 154—162.]

Da. The gift of reason is an injury rather than a benefit. §§ 66—78.

(1) This shown by examples from tragedy, §§ 66—68;

(2) by examples from comedy, §§ 72, 73;

(3) by examples from the law-courts, § 74.

(4) It is only right reason which is beneficial, and this is so rare that it cannot be derived from God, as he would never have been guilty of partiality in his dealings with men. §§ 69, 70.

(5) The objection is not met by the rejoinder that these evils are owing to man's abuse of reason; for the Deity must have foreseen that these evils would flow from the bare gift of reason, and was therefore bound to prevent them by guarding it from error. §§ 70, 71, 76—78.

Db. If it be true that lack of wisdom is the greatest of evils, and that all men lack wisdom, how can it be said that man is the special favorite of Heaven? § 79.

Dc. If God really cared for men, he ought to have made all men good, or at least to have rewarded the good and punished the bad. §§ 79—93.

(1) Instances of suffering virtue. § 80.

(2) Instances of triumphant vice. §§ 81—84.

(3) Such a state of things is inconsistent with any moral government. § 85.

(4) It is no answer to say that *de minimis non curat lex.* Life and liberty cannot be called *minima.* § 86.

(5) [If it be alleged that all external goods are *minima* in comparison with virtue], it is just these external goods which are at the disposal of Heaven. Virtue is what each man must win for himself, and is therefore never made the subject of prayer. Men have deified Virtue in the abstract, but in reality it is only a quality of their own nature. §§ 86—88.

(6) It is only by shutting our eyes to the negative instances, that we can maintain that piety is regularly rewarded and impiety punished. § 89.

(7) Intentional neglect is a great fault in a ruler, and in a Divine Ruler there can be no such thing as unintentional neglect. § 90.

(8) It is argued that vice is punished in the descendants of the guilty person: what should we say to such justice in a human ruler? § 90.

(9) We need not have recourse to the Deity to explain such moral government as actually exists in the world. It is the natural result of human agency. § 91.

(10) Moreover how can God punish, if, as the Stoics assert, he is incapable of anger? He might however exert the power, of which you have given such elaborate proof, in helping the good. If he does not do this, it must be because either the will or the knowledge is wanting. § 92.

(11) You allow that his care does not extend to individuals: why should it extend to nations, or even to humanity at large? § 93.

(12) Yet you are inconsistent enough to believe in divination and to encourage the offering of vows. § 93.

(13) With so many unemployed deities as you acknowledge, there seems no reason why supervision might not have been extended to the minutest detail of individual life. § 93.

Conclusion. Cicero avows his personal preference for the Stoic, as opposed to the Academic view of theology. §§ 94, 95.

ON THE SOURCES OF THE THIRD BOOK OF THE DE NATURA DEORUM.

There can be no doubt that for the materials of this book Cicero was mainly indebted to the Carthaginian Hasdrubal, better known by his Greek name Clitomachus, who was born about 180 B.C. and went to reside at Athens about 155. He was for many years a disciple of Carneades and eventually became the head of the New Academy. Carneades himself having left no written remains (Diog. IV 65, Plut. *Mor.* p. 328), it was through the voluminous writings of his scholar, extending to more than 400 volumes, that his teaching was perpetuated, cf. Diog. IV 67 διεδέξατο τὸν Καρνεάδην καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐφώτισεν, Cic. *Acad.* II 104 *explicavi paulo ante Clitomacho auctore quo modo ista Carneades diceret*, ib. II 98 *a Clitomacho sumam* (*totam Carneadi sententiam*) *qui usque ad senectutem cum Carneade fuit*, Sext. Emp. IX 182 ἠρώτηνται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καρνεάδου καὶ σωρειτικῶς τινες (λόγοι), οὓς ὁ γνώριμος αὐτοῦ Κλειτόμαχος ὡς σπουδαιοτάτους καὶ ἀνυτικωτάτους ἀνέγραψεν (referring to the arguments which Cicero has inserted below §§ 43—52). We are told (*Ac.* II 102) that Clitomachus addressed two of his philosophical treatises to Romans, one to the satirist Lucilius, the other to Censorinus, consul in 149 B.C.; and that he was lecturing at Athens during the quaestorship of the orator Crassus 110 B.C. (*Orat.* I 45). Cicero mentions a treatise περὶ ἐποχῆς in four books (*Ac.* II 98) and a *consolatio* written to his countrymen after the fall of Carthage (*Tusc.* III 54). Schwencke (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1879, 2 p. 141) conjectures that the title of the treatise employed here by Cicero was περὶ προνοίας.

That Carneades was the great source of all criticism of Stoic doctrines and especially of Stoic theology is evident from Cicero's own words *N. D.* II 162 *Carneades libenter in Stoicos invehebatur*, *Tusc.* V 83 *contra Stoicos, quos studiosissime semper refellebat et contra quorum disciplinam ingenium ejus exarserat*, *N. D.* I 4 *sunt autem alii philosophi qui deorum mente omnem mundum administrari censeant...contra quos Carneades ita multa disseruit, ut excitaret homines non socordes ad veri investigandi cupiditatem.* We might therefore assume *a priori* that the argument of the Third Book was taken from him, even if it were not distinctly stated in regard to the proof that no animal can be eternal (III 29), and in regard to the sorites showing the impossibility of drawing any line between the divine and human in the traditional mythology (III 44). The same thing appears from the 9th book of Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Math.* where we meet with many of the arguments used by Cicero. Thus, at the commencement of the discussion on natural causes, Sextus declares his intention not to dwell too much on points of detail or run to the immoderate length of Clitomachus in refuting the dogmatists, but to sum up the most important arguments on both sides and allow them to balance one another (IX 1). As the whole discussion is of interest for this as well as for the earlier books of our treatise, it may be worth while to give a short analysis, referring to the parallel passages in the *N. D.* The positive argument is probably taken in part at least from Posidonius, see Introduction on the Sources of the First Book, vol. I p. lii foll., and Schwencke *Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* 1879, 1 p. 57 foll.

The discussion in Sextus may be divided as follows: (A) The origin of religious belief, (1) positive argument §§ 13—28, (2) negative argument §§ 29—47. (B) The fact of the divine existence, (1) positive argument §§ 48—136, (2) negative argument §§ 137—194. I give them in order below.

(A) The origin of religion has been ascribed to the earliest legislators who desired to establish a check upon unrighteousness of thought as well as of deed §§ 14—16 (*N. D.* I 118). Euhemerus thought that the first rulers of mankind declared themselves divine in order to increase their own power § 17 (*N. D.* I 119); Prodicus that the ancients deified all that was useful to life, as the Sun, the rivers § 18 (*N. D.* I 118); Democritus that images of vast size appeared to men and forewarned them of the future § 19 (*N. D.* I 120); Aristotle derived the belief from the soul's prophetic faculty and

from the order of the heavenly bodies §§ 20—22 (*N. D.* II 95); others by a process of amplification rose from the finite intelligence in man to the conception of a divine intelligence in nature § 23 (*N. D.* II 33—38); others, among whom is also Democritus, from the terrible phenomena of nature § 24 (*N. D.* II 14); Epicurus from visions of anthropomorphic deities § 25 (*N. D.* I 46); others from the orderly movements of the heavenly bodies, which suggest a creative and guiding intelligence no less than the movements of an army or a ship to the distant spectator §§ 26, 27 (*N. D.* II 85, 87); some of the younger Stoics say that it is a tradition handed down from the sages of the golden age § 28 (*N. D.* II 148, 159).

On the negative side it is maintained that these opposing views are mutually destructive § 29 (*N. D.* I 1, 5); but dealing with them separately we may ask, where did these early legislators get their own idea of deity? §§ 30, 31. How did the differences of religious belief arise? How were the various nations brought together to be instructed in religion? If it be said 'each nation was independently taught', how did all agree in the same general idea of God? §§ 32, 33. Religion cannot have been an invention for the purpose of giving additional authority to living or dead rulers, for where did the idea itself come from? and how could a mere imposture have taken such firm root? §§ 34—38 (*N. D.* II 5). The deification of utility is even more absurd. How can it be supposed that men would make gods of what they ate and drank? There might be some reason for ascribing divinity to the power which holds together the earth and makes it fruitful, but, sooner than call rivers divine, we should deify philosophers, or even all animals that are of use to man §§ 39—41 (*N. D.* II 60, III 41). Democritus and Epicurus explain the easier by the more difficult §§ 42, 43 (*N. D.* I 121); they utterly fail to account for the attributes of immortality and perfection § 44. Those who fill up the conception of divinity obtained from visions and the celestial movements by amplifying their experience of human blessedness, are really guilty of arguing in a circle. They base their conception of divinity on blessedness (*εὐδαιμονία*), but this in its turn involves the conception of deity (*δαίμων*) §§ 45—47.

(B) The fact of the existence of the Gods is accepted as a matter of belief and of practice, not of science, by the Sceptics §§ 48, 49 (*N. D.* I 62, III 5, 43). It is denied virtually or in terms by the so-called atheists, Euhemerus, Diagoras, Prodicus, Critias, Theodorus, and, as some hold, by Epicurus §§ 50—58 (*N. D.* I 2, 63, 117—119, III 89). The Sceptics on the contrary hold that the opposing arguments balance each other § 59. Thus, on the positive side, four methods of proof are employed, (*a*) the general voice of mankind, (*b*) the order of the universe, (*c*) the absurdities which follow from the opposite view, (*d*) the refutation of objections § 60. As to (*a*) it is affirmed that religious belief and worship are common to all, both Greeks and barbarians; that, if this belief were false, it must have died out like other unfounded beliefs, whereas it has existed and will exist

for ever; that it is not confined to the vulgar, but accepted by the greatest poets and philosophers, and distinctly asserted even by Epicurus himself §§ 61—65 (*N. D.* I 43, II 5, 12, III 7, 11, I. 85, 86). If it be said that there is a similar consensus on the part of poets and the vulgar in regard to the belief in Tartarus, yet that belief is self-contradictory, as may be seen in the case of Tityus and Tantalus; for agony and immortality are contradictory ideas. But there is no such inconsistency in the belief in spiritual powers. We recognize that the spirit of man, which holds together the body during life, is not dissipated at death, but ascends upwards owing to its ethereal nature, and dwells in the lunar region, nourished by vapours from the earth; if our spirit thus passes into the condition of a δαίμων, why should we doubt the existence of those spiritual powers whom we know under the name of gods? §§ 66—74 (*N. D.* II 5 on Tartarus). (*b*) The material universe is evidently a work of art modelled and set in motion by a power which pervades it, as the soul pervades the body. Is this power self-moving? If not, we go back *ad infinitum*. It is therefore self-moving and has been so from eternity, therefore it is God §§ 75, 76. That which produces what is rational must itself be rational; man is a product of the power which pervades the universe, therefore that power is rational §§ 77 (*N. D.* II 22). The world is one, either in virtue of its original unity or from being composed of distinct parts, which may either have been compacted together as a ship, or remain separate, as an army. It cannot be the latter, for whatever happens in one part is felt in another part, e.g. the moon's influence in growth and in the tides (*N. D.* II 19, 50, 119), and sympathy of this kind belongs only to bodies originally united. Such an original union may be either that of cohesion, as in wood or stone, or of growth (φύσις, nature), as in a plant, passing in its highest stage into a unity of life, as in animals. Things united by cohesion are scarcely liable to change, but the universe undergoes constant and violent changes, as from cold and heat. It has therefore a unity of nature, and that of the best nature, since it includes all natures in it. Hence, since the whole cannot be inferior to its part, it must be rational as including what is rational, and being best of all things it must be immortal, and therefore divine §§ 78—85 (*N. D.* II 32, 33, 82). If even the gross earth can foster animals capable of perception, how much more should the finer elements of air and ether, from which we men derive our thinking power, be inhabited by a divine order of beings? §§ 86, 87 (*N. D.* II 17, 18, 42). Argument of Cleanthes: if one animal is better than another, there must be some one which is best of all; man is best of all animals on earth, but, as we see, he is full of defects; the true best is an animal with none of these defects and unapproachable by evil; and such is God §§ 88—91 (*N. D.* II 16, 33—37). Argument of Socrates in Xenophon: man is a work of art testifying to the existence of an artist; his nature is derived from elements without, flesh from earth, breath from

air, and therefore reason from the great source of reason, i.e. from God (*N. D.* II 18). It is objected that we might similarly argue 'man has bile, therefore the universe must be bilious', but the argument applies only to pure elements, not to secondary compounds such as bile. Putting it in another way we might say 'if there were nothing earthy in the universe, there could have been nothing earthy in man; so, if there were nothing rational in the universe, there could have been no reason in man' §§ 92—98 (*N. D.* III 27). On seeing a statue we admire the skill of the sculptor, shall we not do the same when we think of the mind of man, which is so far more marvellous than any statue? §§ 99, 100 (*N. D.* II 87). Argument of Zeno: that from which the seeds of reason proceed must itself be rational, for all subordinate faculties testify to the character of the *ἡγεμονικόν* from which they are derived; since then the universe contains the seeds of all rational creatures, the *ἡγεμονικόν* of the universe must be rational, and therefore divine §§ 101—103 (*N. D.* II 22, 29, 30). Argument of Zeno after Plato: since that which is animate and rational is superior to that which is inanimate and irrational, the universe, being supreme, must be a rational animal. The objection of Alexinus, that on the same ground the universe might be proved to be a poet and grammarian, confounds the absolute and the relative best; Archilochus was a poet, but he was not therefore superior to Socrates who was no poet §§ 104—110 (*N. D.* II 18, 21). The Stoics prove the divinity of the world from its motion, which must proceed from nature or volition or necessity. It is certainly not the last, in the sense of an irrational vortex, such as Democritus held, for it is orderly, unchanging and harmonious. It is not caused by an unconscious nature, since this would be inferior to the rational natures included in the universe. It must therefore be caused by a rational nature. Further, voluntary movements are always more admirable than those which are involuntary. When we admire the sphere of Archimedes, it is not the moving frame we wonder at, but the rational volition of the astronomer. Again, the more wonderful the thing moved, by so much more wonderful is the moving force. Hence the force which moves the entire universe is the most admirable of all things, and being such it must be a rational and voluntary agent, i.e. God §§ 111—118 (*N. D.* II 43, 44, 88). In every organism there is a centre of motion, the heart or the brain or, in plants, the root; the *ἡγεμονικόν* or centre of motion of the universe is in God §§ 119—122 (*N. D.* II 29, 30). Absurdities arising from atheism (*c*). If there are no gods, there is no such thing as piety, which is defined as *ἐπιστήμη θεῶν θεραπείας*, for there can be no science of the non-existent § 123; nor as holiness, for this is defined as *δικαιοσύνη πρὸς θεούς* § 124 (*N. D.* I 3, 4, II 153); nor as wisdom, defined as *ἐπιστήμη θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείων* § 125; nor as justice, which springs from the fellowship existing between men and God § 126 (*N. D.* I 4). Pythagoras and others erroneously extended this fellowship to irrational creatures, with which it is true we are connected by common participation

in the all-pervading spirit of the universe, but so we are with plants and stones, yet no one has ever imagined that there could be any tie of justice between us and them §§ 127—130; the reason why there is justice between men and gods is because both participate in reason § 131. Again, there can be no divination if there are no gods, since it is the science of signs given by the gods to man § 132 (*N. D.* II 12).

Sextus, having discussed objections as they occurred, has not reserved a separate section for their refutation (*d*), but goes on, after another insignificant verbal quibble by Zeno, to state the negative argument in § 137. It is from this point that the comparison with *N. D.* III becomes important. If there are gods, they are animals, since animal nature is superior to all other nature; but animals are defined by the property of sensation, and the gods, as the most perfect animals, will experience the greatest variety of sensations (as Carneades says); they will therefore have sensations of taste, such as bitter and sweet, pleasant and unpleasant; but an unpleasant sensation implies possibility of change for the worse, i.e. implies mortality, and mortal gods are no gods §§ 137—141 (cited as from Carneades in *N. D.* III 32). So, in regard to every sense, animals are liable to be affected in a manner which is either according to their nature or contrary to their nature; but that which is contrary to nature is destructive to life, therefore again all animals are mortal. This shown in regard to eye-sight in particular §§ 142—145 (*N. D.* III 33). Every sensation is an alteration; a deity who undergoes alteration is liable to change, therefore to death §§ 146, 147. The deity must be either finite or infinite; if infinite, it would be lifeless and motionless, for motion must be from place to place, which is impossible for that which fills all space; again if held together by soul, this must be by means of centripetal and centrifugal movements, but the infinite has no centre §§ 148, 149 (*N. D.* II 115 n.). Nor on the other hand can the deity be finite, for the finite is contained in the infinite, as the part within the whole, so that there would be something greater and better than the deity § 150. The deity is either bodied or bodiless; if the latter, it can neither feel nor act; if the former, it is liable to corruption § 151. If there be a God, he must have all happiness and all virtue, but he is without *ἐγκράτεια* and *καρτερία*, for there is nothing which he finds it hard to bear or to abstain from §§ 152—155 (*N. D.* III 38). Further, if he has not got these virtues, he must have the opposite vices, since there is nothing intermediate § 156. If there were anything hard for him to bear, it is evident that he would be liable to distress and therefore to destruction § 157. In like manner he is devoid of fortitude, which is defined as the knowledge of what is, and what is not, dangerous. For if there is something dangerous to him, he is liable to destruction §§ 158—160 (*N. D.* III 38). Similarly for magnanimity, which consists in rising above the accidents of life, for, if he is exposed to such accidents, he is liable to destruction § 161. So for prudence, the knowledge of good and evil and

of things indifferent, among which things trouble is included. But the knowledge of trouble can only be gained by experience of trouble itself, not, as some say, from the experience of pleasure by imagination of the opposite. For pleasure, being only the removal of pain, is unknown to one who is ignorant of pain; not to mention that being itself (as the Stoics say) a kind of dissolution it implies mortality §§ 162—166 (*N. D.* III 38). So for εὐβουλία, since all deliberation is of the uncertain, and if there are things uncertain to the deity, why may it not be uncertain to him whether the infinite may not conceal some power capable of destroying him? Such uncertainty would naturally give rise to fear, which implies mortality §§ 167—170. On the other hand, if nothing is uncertain to him, he must know everything by instinct without art; therefore he must be without the art of life, which is virtue, and being without virtue he must have its opposite, vice §§ 171—173. As to temperance (σωφροσύνη), this cannot exist without prudence (φρόνησις), as is shown by its name, and it has been proved that this virtue is inconsistent with deity. Again, temperance involves the existence of appetites to be resisted, which is contrary to our idea of deity §§ 174, 175 (*N. D.* III 38). If God is without virtue he is miserable, if he has virtue there is something superior to him (the perfection or virtue of a thing being superior to the thing itself); if neither of these contradictories is true, he must be non-existent §§ 176, 177. Once more, God has either the faculty of speech or he has not; the latter is absurd and contrary to universal belief; but if he has speech, he must also possess all those parts of the body which conduce to speech, which is an idea only worthy of the Epicureans; he must also speak in some particular dialect, and if so how will he express himself to those who use another tongue? Therefore, as before, he must be non-existent §§ 178, 179. So, if God has a body, it must be either simple or compound: the compound is liable to dissolution, the simple is inanimate and irrational §§ 180, 181 (*N. D.* III 34).

We have also on this point the following sorites of Carneades preserved by Clitomachus. If Zeus is a god, so is his brother Poseidon; if Poseidon, then Achelous and Nilus, and every river and torrent. But these are not gods, therefore neither is Zeus §§ 182, 183 (*N. D.* III 43, 44). If the sun is a god, so is the day (which is only a name for the sun above the horizon); if the day, then the month, the year, the morning and evening § 184 (*N. D.* III 51). If Artemis, so is Enodia, &c.; if Aphrodite, so Eros and other feelings of the mind, such as Pity and Fear §§ 185—188 (cf. *N. D.* III 47). If Demeter (= γῆ μήτηρ), then the earth, the hills, the promontories, every stone § 189 (*N. D.* III 52). Carneades adds many other examples, but the above will suffice to show the nature of the argument § 190.

Such being the variety of opinions among philosophers as to the divine existence, and such the grounds assigned on either side, the Sceptics have preferred to suspend their judgment, and they have felt themselves con-

firmed in this course by the contradictions and impieties of the vulgar belief and of the mythological traditions collected by the poets and theologians §§ 191—194 (cf. *N. D.* III 42, 53—60).

It is evident from the above analysis that Cicero and Sextus must have had the same book of Clitomachus before them, but that both must have used much freedom in omitting and abbreviating, as indeed Sextus avows §§ 1, 190. Even in the paragraphs distinctly cited by both as taken from Carneades, viz. that on the necessary mortality of all animal nature (*N. D.* III 29—34, Sext. §§ 137—147) and the Carneadean sorites (*N. D.* III 43—52, Sext. §§ 182—190), there are great divergences; e.g. as to the sorites respecting Jupiter and his brothers, Cicero gives us his *reductio ad absurdum* through Orcus, Sextus his through Poseidon, both no doubt included in the original. A comparison of the argument, in Cicero and Sextus respectively, proving that virtue is incompatible with the divine nature, shows what liberty the former allowed himself in cutting down his original. The difficulty is to understand on what principle he acted: sometimes, as here and at the end of the second book, he omits what is interesting and important, or gives it in such a condensed form as to make it barely intelligible, while at another time he wearies out the patience of the reader with the futility of the mythological section.

It is worthy of note that the two arguments for which alone Cicero cites the name Carneades are just the two for which he is also named by Sextus. At first sight this would suggest that the remaining arguments in both must have been taken from some other source than Clitomachus; but it seems more probable that the latter, and perhaps Carneades himself in his lectures, brought together sceptical arguments from all quarters, assigning each to its original author, as for instance Alexinus is cited by Sextus § 108; so that all I should infer from the above coincidence is that Carneades claimed these two arguments as his own special property.

There is another treatise, besides that of Sextus, which in certain points strongly resembles this book of Cicero's, and that is his own treatise *De Divinatione* written immediately after it. From my notes on § 14 it will be seen that the argument on the groundlessness and uselessness of divination is almost exactly the same in both treatises, but the name of Carneades is prefixed to the corresponding portion of the latter treatise (*Div.* II 9, cf. ib. 15—25). Clitomachus is further cited by name *Div.* II 87, and Hartfelder detects his pen in

the reference to Punic soothsayers, *Div.* II 28, with which may be compared the references to Carthage in our treatise III 42, 91.

May we then assume that the whole of our treatise is taken from Clitomachus? Schwencke notices a difference in the mode of referring to the Stoic doctrines, which he would use as a clue to distinguish between what is taken without alteration from Clitomachus and what is added or modified by Cicero. In §§ 6—28 we have the Imperfects *dicebas, commemorabas, videbatur,* with evident reference to the former book; in §§ 29—38 we have *dicitis, dicere soletis, vobis videtur, placet,* referring to the doctrines of the Stoics generally. But I think we can only gather from this, that Cicero began his 3rd book with the idea of meeting the Posidonian argument of the 2nd book with detailed criticism borrowed from Clitomachus and supplemented by himself; that, on finding this to be irksome or impracticable, inasmuch as the work of Clitomachus was written in reference to the elder Stoicism and was not adapted to the exposition of Stoical doctrine subsequently put forward by Posidonius, he in §§ 17 and 18 abandons the intention announced in §§ 6, 7, 10, of following the exact order of the previous book, and proposes to defer the chief part of the discussion on the divine existence to the section on Providence. As he thus breaks loose from the order of the second book, adopting instead the independent arrangement of his authority, it is natural that he should gradually discontinue the Imperfect of reference, especially where the argument borrowed from Clitomachus is altogether irrespective of anything urged by Posidonius, e.g. in §§ 29—34, 70 foll. Towards the end of the book the 2nd person plural of the present is used indifferently, whether the argument discussed had or had not been employed by Posidonius, see notes on *sic enim dicitis* § 86, and *haec tecum* § 93. At times the Academic criticism is obscure as being directed against arguments or illustrations which do not appear in the second book, cf. notes on Hipponax and Critolaus § 91; at times doctrines are attributed to the Stoics which are in flat contradiction with the doctrine put forward in that book, cf. § 93.

Turning now to the earlier part of the book, there can be little doubt that §§ 1—13 with their light bantering tone and illustrations from Roman history are purely Ciceronian. The argument against divination in § 14 we have seen to be probably taken from Carneades, and the illustration from medicine and the use of the word *στρατήγημα* suggest a Greek original for the following para-

graph. It is strange that, after announcing his intention of postponing the arguments of Cleanthes, Chrysippus and Zeno to the 3rd head of his discussion, Cicero in §§ 20, 21 merely commences his reply to the 2nd head (II 45, 46) and then falls back on the arguments of Zeno and Chrysippus, dealing with the same point. Schwencke proposes an ingenious explanation of Cicero's change of plan. He thinks that the title of Clitomachus' treatise was περὶ προνοίας; and that, when Cicero, feeling himself unable to carry out his original intention of answering each argument of Posidonius in its proper order, spoke of deferring certain arguments to the section on Providence, his real meaning was to set aside altogether the Posidonian order and follow that of Clitomachus instead. Further he supposes Clitomachus to have commenced his treatise with a preliminary argument on the divine existence, just as Posidonius commences his own defence of the belief in Providence (II 75) by showing that it follows necessarily from our conception of God. Hence it might well include the Carneadean argument for the mortality of all animal nature (III 29—34) as well as the criticism of the above-mentioned arguments of Zeno and Chrysippus. There can be little doubt that Cicero has borrowed the criticism of these in §§ 21—26 from his Greek original; the argument in § 23 is, as we have seen, cited by Sextus as from Alexinus. It may be asked why the argument of the Xenophontic Socrates is discussed out of chronological order in §§ 27, 28, though it was not mentioned along with the others in § 18. But so it is also in II 18. In both it comes in as an appendage to the argument from Chrysippus: it is probable therefore that it was cited by Chrysippus and criticized as a part of his argument by Clitomachus. Schwencke finds a confirmation of his surmise as to the title of Clitomachus' work in III 65, where Cicero, at the commencement of the section on Providential Government, uses the words *de quibus accuratius disserendum puto*. So far I am disposed to agree with him, but I see no reason for doubting the Carneadean origin of §§ 39—65 because of occasional allusions to the former book. It is not pretended that any of the topics treated of are unsuited to Carneades, and however careless Cicero may have been, he was surely capable of remembering whether the same topic had been touched on in the previous book, and, if so, of adding to the verisimilitude of the dialogue by making a reference to it. Nor can I agree with Schwencke when he says that it would be hazardous to assume the pure Carneadean origin of any portion which is not supported by a parallel in Sextus. Sextus being

a professed philosopher was far less likely than Cicero to be tied to one authority; and we have already seen that, where Sextus and Cicero are both copying Carneades, Cicero occasionally supplies details which are wanting in Sextus. I have myself little doubt that the whole argumentation of the 3rd book is taken from Clitomachus.

A further question may be asked as to the original author of the mythological section, which I presume to have been included in the treatise of Clitomachus. In the Appendix on that section it is suggested that it may have come from Mnaseas. Clemens Alexandrinus, quoted under Apollo, names Aristotle as his authority, but this is supposed by Rose (*Arist. Pseudepigraphus* p. 615 foll.) to be a mistake for Aristocles, a contemporary of Strabo. One can scarcely imagine that any philosopher would take the trouble to make out such a catalogue of mythological inanities, but it would be an appropriate work for an erudite Alexandrian Euhemerist, such as Mnaseas, and might then be seized upon for polemical purposes by the Academics, whom Timon condemns for πλατυρημοσύνην ἀνάλιστον 'their saltless prolixity' (Diog. IV 67). Supposing this to be so, are we to assume that Cicero himself translated it? We might rather gather from what he tells us in his letters, as to his method of composition, that in subordinate details of this kind he was accustomed to make use of the services of others. Thus for the 3rd book of his *De officiis* he writes to Athenodorus Calvus to send him an abstract of the treatise of Posidonius on the same subject (*Att.* XVI 11), and he tells us of Tiro that he was most useful to him in his studies; see my notes on *N.D.* III 40 *sane multi videntur*, and 42 *ut jam docebo*.

EDITIONS AND ILLUSTRATIVE WORKS.

As regards the text, the Orelli-Baiter edition of 1862 renders all that precedes obsolete; but an editor is bound to remember with gratitude the names of those who contributed most to raise the text from the state in which it was left by Ascensius in 1511 to that in which it now appears. If we take the 1st edition of Davies (Camb. 1718) as our dividing line, Victorius, Paulus Manutius, Lambinus, Ursinus and Gulielmius (the last in Gruter's ed. of 1619) may be named, among the earlier editors, as those who did

most to clear away the corruptions of the first printed text. The earliest edition known to me, in which the dislocation of Bk II is rectified, is that of Hervagius (Basil 1534), but Marsus in the collection of 'Annotations on the Philosophical Treatises of Cicero', published at Basil in 1544, claims to have done the same in his edition of 1508, which I have been unable to meet with. There were also commentaries by Marsus and Betuleius (Basil 1550) chiefly confined to historical and mythological allusions, and in 1660 Lescaloperius brought out his *Humanitas Theologica*, a commentary filling 737 folio pages. This being written for the edification of the Jesuit students, more than one half of it is occupied with panegyrics of the Virgin and other extraneous matters, but it has the virtue of being a labour of love and may be reckoned among the few editions which show real research and an intelligent interest in the argument. Davies and Olivet speak contemptuously of Lescaloperius, the latter especially in the words 'si ce qui lui vient de ses prédécesseurs étoit revendiqué, et qu'en même temps on ne laissât, dans ce qui est de lui, rien de superflu ni de puérile, son *in-folio* seroit réduit, ce me semble, à un volume très portatif'. (*Entretiens de Cicero sur la nature des dieux* p. XVI, ed. 1721.) Bouhier gives a fairer judgment (ib. vol. III p. 212), 'quoique je sois bien éloigné d'approuver en tout l'énorme et monstrueux commentaire du P. Lescalopier, il faut néanmoins convenir qu'il a assez bien discuté et medité ce que ces Entretiens contiennent de philosophique... Cela méritoit donc bien qu'on eût quelque égard pour lui et qu'on ne le traitât pas à tout propos avec tant d'indignité'. The advance made by Davies, president of Queens' College, Cambridge (edd. 1718, -23, -33, -44, reprinted Oxf. 1807, and by Rath and Schuetz, Halle 1819), consisted, beyond the collection of the notes of earlier editors, in three points, chiefly in the illustrations supplied from his wide classical reading, 2ndly in the collations of his six MSS, none of which however seem to have been of any great value, and 3rdly in the emendations, partly by himself and still more by John Walker, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, many of which have been incorporated into the accepted text. Shortly after followed the French translation by Joseph Olivet with notes by himself and the President Bouhier (1721, -32, -49 &c.). Both were men of sense, and some of the emendations of the latter have found their way into the accepted text. Editions of Cicero *cum notis variorum* were also brought out by Olivet 1746 (notes reprinted separately Lond. 1819, Oxf. 1824) and Verburgius,

Amsterdam 1724, both adding considerably to the collection of Davies.

In 1777 some slight improvements in the text were made in Ernesti's edition, but the first edition of importance after Davies is that by Heindorf 1817. He was a sound scholar with an open eye and independent judgment and, though he relied too much on inferior codices, especially on his *Codex Glogavianus*, and was too much disposed to alter, yet, if I am not mistaken, an examination of my critical notes will show that a larger number of accepted emendations have proceeded from him than from almost any other single editor. The edition of Moser and Creuzer *cum notis variorum* Leipzig 1818, and the smaller edition by Moser 1821, are both very disappointing. Moser is laborious, but he appears to me to have been the least intelligent of the editors whom I have consulted, and Creuzer had no critical judgment. Their *Apparatus Criticus*, which professes to contain the collations of twenty new MSS, is very confused and careless, as may be seen by comparing it with Baiter's collations. The notes of F. A. Wolf and Wyttenbach given at the end are mostly of an elementary character. The great improvement in the text was commenced by Orelli in his first edition 1826—1830. Allen (Alanus) brought out an edition with Latin notes, London 1836. These are chiefly grammatical and critical, containing some good emendations e.g. *nimis callide* I 70, *venantis* II 126. The edition with German notes by G. F. Schömann 1850 (4th and last in 1876), is deservedly the most popular up to the present time. He is a sensible scholar, who had shown his interest in the theology of the Ancients by a variety of essays and commentaries, and he has made good use of the notes of Davies. He was also the first to notice many of the difficulties of the text, but he complains that it was impossible for him to give full explanations within the limits allowed him, and it would certainly be too much to say that he had succeeded in clearing up all difficulties. Some of his emendations have been generally accepted, e.g. *afficiendum* for *efficiendum* in I 19, of which he was the first to offer a rational explanation, as he was also of II 9 by changing the reading of the MSS *nulli viri* into *nulla cum viri*. With his edition should be consulted his papers on the text contained in his *Opuscula* vol. III pp. 274—384, IV pp. 336—359 (*de Epicuri theologia*) and *N. Jahrb.* for 1875 pp. 685—695. It is scarcely worth while to mention the text of Ast 1829, and the elementary German editions by Seibt 1834, and Freund in his Schüler-Bibliothek. The

latter is the more recent and much the fuller of the two, but neither has contributed anything of his own to the elucidation of the book. Reinhold Klotz did a good deal to improve the text in his edition 1869, and his *Adnotationes Criticae ad M. Tullii Ciceronis librum de N. D. primum* in 4 parts, Leipzig 1867—1869. He is the author of the excellent emendation *a parvis enim* for *apparuisse* in I 80. But no scholar has done so much as Madvig in his *Opuscula* and his edition of the *De Finibus* to improve both the text and the interpretation of Cicero. We may perhaps be of opinion that only a small proportion of his conjectures are likely to find a place in the final text, but the arguments by which they are supported are always full of instruction. The best existing texts are those of Baiter 1864 and C. F. W. Müller 1878, on which more is said in the Introduction to my first volume.

Besides Olivet's French translation already noticed, may be mentioned the German translations by Meyer (with useful notes) ed. 2, 1832, by Schröder 1841, by R. Kühner 1863, with analysis and notes, which are perhaps less original than might have been expected from so distinguished an editor and grammarian, but which do not seem to me to deserve the contempt with which *die neueste Uebersetzung* is constantly alluded to by Schömann. A still later translation by J. H. Kirchmann (Leipzig 1875) is a very ignorant and unscholarly performance. Two English translations may be named, as fairly idiomatic; both are anonymous, but the latter (London 1741) is understood to be by Thomas Francklin, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is what the Germans call a 'Tendenz-schrift' by a follower of Shaftesbury (see the notes on pp. 4, 87, 263). The older translation appeared in 1683. It is written from the ordinary point of view and contains copious explanatory notes of an elementary kind.

I proceed to give a list of illustrative works.

Fabricatio hominis a Cicerone libro secundo de Natura Deorum descripta cum annotationibus Alberti Novicampiani 1551 Cracoviae. (In the British Museum. The writer compares Cicero with Galen, but makes no attempt to explain the obscurities of the former.)

Uranologion of Petavius. Paris 1630. (Contains the ancient astronomers referred to in my notes on the Aratean section of the Second Book.)

F. Gedike. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Historia philosophiae antiquae.* Berlin 1782. pp. 364.

Kindervater. *Anmerkungen und Abhandlungen philosophischen und philologischen Inhalts über C.'s Bücher von der Natur der Götter.* 1796. (Not of much value.)

The publications of this century are arranged in alphabetical order, the more important being marked with an asterisk.

A. Becker. *Comm. Crit. ad Cic.* I *N. D.* Budingen 1865.

Ernst Behr. *Der Octavius des Minucius Felix in seinem Verhältniss zu Cicero's Büchern de N. D.* Gera 1870. See on the same subject Ebert below.

C. M. Bernhardt. *De Cicerone Graecae philosophiae interprete.* Berlin 1865.

Birkholtz. *Cicero Medicus* 1806. (Merely a *Chrestomathia Ciceroniana.*)

*A. Brieger. *Beiträge zur Kritik einiger philosophischen Schriften des Cicero.* Posen 1873.

*Bywater. *Aristotle's Dialogue on Philosophy* in *J. of Philology* VII p. 64—87. Cambridge 1876.

Victor Clavel. *De Cicerone Graecorum interprete.* Paris 1869. (Of very little value.)

Cobet. *Variae Lectiones* pp. 460—463. Leyden 1873.

*Deiter. In *Rhein. Mus.* 1882 pp. 314—317 *Zum codex Vossianus* 86. (Contains corrections and additions to Baiter's collation of B.)

De Ciceronis codice Leidensi 118 *denuo collato.* Emdae 1882.

De Ciceronis codicibus Vossianis 84 *et* 86 *denuo excussis.* Auricae 1885. (I only know of these two from Deiter's review of my edition in the *Berliner philologischer Wochenschrift* 30 May 1885.)

*Detlefsen. In the *Wiener Sitzungs-Berichte* vol. 21 (1856) p. 117. (Describes codex V.)

Dietrich. *Commentationes criticae de locis quibusdam Ciceronis* 1850. (Not seen.)

*H. Ebeling. *Handschriftliches zu Cicero de divinatione* in *Philologus* XLIII. 4, pp. 702—707.

*A. Ebert. (Cicero and Minucius Felix.) In *Abhandl. d. sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wiss.* (*phil. hist. Kl.*) for 1868 pp. 328 foll., 354 foll., 367 foll.

P. J. Elvenich. *Adumbratio legum artis criticae cum var. crit. in Cic. de N. D.* Bonn 1821.

*J. Forchhammer. *Annotationes Criticae ad Ciceronis de Natura Deorum libros* in the *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi.* Copenhagen 1880 pp. 23—53.

C.Förtsch. *Quaestiones Tullianae.* Naumburg 1837. (Contains a careful examination of *N. D.* I 11, 25, III 84.)

G. S. Francke. *Geist und Gehalt der Cic. Bücher von der Natur der Götter.* Altona 1806. (A discussion as to Cicero's own sentiments on theology.)

J. A. Froude. *Divus Caesar* in vol. 3 of *Short Studies* 1884.

Halm. *Zur Handschriftenkunde der Ciceronischen Schriften.* Munich 1850.

N. Jahrb. for 1859 pp. 759—778. (On the MSS of the *Leges.* A is described as full of erasures, B as utterly disordered, one page sometimes made up of four unconnected fragments.)

Heidtmann. *Zur Kritik und Interpretation der Schrift Cicero's de Natura Deorum.* Neustettin 1858. (Learned and intelligent but rather too bold.)

*R. Hirzel. *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philosophischen Schriften.* 1 Theil. *De Natura Deorum.* Leipzig 1877. (An excellent book on the Sources of the Dialogue.)

Höfig. *C.'s Ansicht v. d. Staatsreligion.* Krotoschin pp. 75. (I have not seen this.)

Horstig. *Die Gottheit: was sagt Cicero in seine Schrift darüber als Heide und Philosoph?* Leipzig 1823.

*Krahner. *Grundlinien zur Geschichte des Verfalls der römischen Staatsreligion.* Halle 1837.

*A. B. Krische. *Die theologischen Lehren d. griechischen Denker.* Göttingen 1840. (A very learned and able examination of the Epicurean sketch of early philosophy contained in *N. D.* I §§ 25—41.)

R. Kühner. *M. Tullii Ciceronis in philosophiam ejusque partes merita.* Hamburg 1825. (A book which might very easily be, but has not yet been, superseded.)

Lengnick. *Ad emendandos explicandosque Cic. l. de N. D. quid ex Philodemi περὶ εὐσεβείας redundet.* Halle 1872.

A. Matthiae. *Observatt. de nonnullis locis libri* I *de natura deorum* in his *Vermischte Schriften.* Altenburg 1833.

Menière. *Cicéron Médecin.* 1862. (Very slight.)

*C. F. W. Müller in *Fleckeisen's J. B.* 1864 pp. 127—147, 261—281, 605—631. (Important for the text.)

O. M. Müller. *Ciceronis libris de N. D. non extremam manum accessisse.* Bromberg 1839.

Peter. *Comm. de Ciceronis N. D.* I 19. 1861.

Philodemus. For the literature see vol. I p. xlii foll. and Lengnick above.

E. Reinhold. *De Interpretatione τῆς προλήψεως Epicureae in Ciceronis libro* I *de N. D.* Jena 1840.

Schultze. *Specimen variarum lectionum e codd. Lagomarsinianis librorum Ciceronis de N. D. descriptarum.* 1847.

*Schwencke in *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1879 pp. 49—66, 129—142. (On the sources of *N. D.* criticising Hirzel.)

*Schwencke in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1882. pp. 613—633. (On *N. D.* I 49. Both articles deserve careful attention.)

W. Scott in *Journal of Philology* vol. XII pp. 212—247 on 'The physical constitution of the Epicurean Gods.' (An able defence of Lachelier's view mentioned in my vol. I p. 147 n.)

Stamm. *De Ciceronis libro de N. D. interpolationibus.* Breslau 1873.

Thiaucourt. *Essai sur les Traités Philosophiques de Cicéron et leurs sources grecques.* Paris 1885. (A convenient summary of the latest investigations.)

*Vahlen. *Zu Cicero's philosophische Schriften* in *Zeitschrift f. d. Österr. Gymn.* 1873 pp. 241—247. (On *N. D.* II 6, 147, III 35. Among other things proves the correctness of the title *De Natura Deorum* as opposed to Baiter's *Deorum Natura.*)

Vaucher. *In Ciceronis libros philosophicos curae criticae.* Lausanne 1865.

Wessele-Scholten. *Dissertatio de philosophiae Ciceronianae loco qui est de divina natura.* Amsterdam 1783. (Not seen.)

*Wopkens. *Lectiones Tullianae*, ed. Hand, 1829.

*Zeller. *Religion u. Philosophie bei den Römern.* Berlin 1867.

(For other books on the religious philosophy of the Ancients see my *Guide to the Choice of Classical Books* under the head of *Mythology and Religion.*)

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO VOLS. I. II. III.

LIB. I.

p. xli. On Balbus, see *Digest* I 2 l. 2 § 41, where it is stated that he studied under the pontifex Scaevola. He was the instructor of Sulpicius (*Brut.* 42, *Digest* I 2 l. 2 § 43). See also *Brut.* 154.

In l. 21 omit 'as in the *De Republica* and *De Oratore*'.

p. li, last line but six. Forchhammer (p. 33) agrees in thinking that Philodemus and Cicero both copied from Zeno.

p. 2 l. 7, *actione vitae*. According to Deiter (*Rh. Mus.* 1882 p. 314) the true reading of B is *de actione v.*, which is certainly more natural.

p. 11 l. 9 *continente ardore*. According to D. l. c. the true reading of B is *continentem ardorum* 'einen zusammenhängenden Kreis von Lichtstrahlen'. I doubt *ardorum* being so used.

p. 49. Mr Swainson's Collations on § 2. I find from inspection of the MSS that BK omit from *esse debeat* § 1 to *sententias* § 2, so that they are erroneously cited in favour of the reading *vehimur*.

In Commentary on I 1, *ad agnitionem animi*. Cf. Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* X 36 τουτέστι τὸ γνῶθι σεαυτόν, ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν πεποιηκότα θεόν. Calvin *Instit.* I 1 *hominem in puram sui notitiam numquam pervenire nisi prius Dei faciem sit contemplatus.*

ib. *tam variae—inscientiam.* Add *Acad.* I 41 *inscientiam ex qua exsisteret opinio*, and *Ac.* II 116—148.

§ 2 *sunt in varietate.* Cf. Madv. on *Fin.* II. 47.

§ 4 on *ita*. For '*Plato* I 241' read '*P.* I 239'.

§ 5 *plus una vera sit. Plus* or *plusquam* is used to qualify a numeral without affecting case number or gender, cf. *plus pars dimidia caesa est* Liv. XXXVI 40, *apes numquam plus unum regem patiuntur* Sen. *Clem.* I 19, Roby § 1273, Madv. § 305. In the parallel passage *Ac.* II 147 we find the less idiomatic construction *cum plus uno verum esse non possit.*

§ 6 *quid certi.* Cf. *Div.* II 8, and Halm on *Rosc. Am.* 83 *id erit signi.*

diffiderent. Atticus seems to have been one of these, see *Fin.* V 96 quoted by Reid *Acad.* I 14.

necopinatum to be taken predicatively with *susceptum.*

invidos vituperatores [add *Brut.* 254, J. E. B. M.]

ib. *floruit.* Cf. *Rosc. Am.* 15 *hospitiis florens hominum nobilissimorum.*

requirunt. Cf. below § 20, *Leg.* II 62, *Div.* II 126 *illud autem requiro cur.*

§ 9 *animi aegritudo.* Add to exx. of hypallage Cic. *Leg. Man.* 22 (*membrorum*) *collectio dispersa.*

§ 11 *orbam.* Cf. *Acad.* II 11 *ea quae nunc prope dimissa revocatur.* All the younger Academics followed Antiochus, see Zeller IV 608 and quotation from Aenesidemus in p. 610.

§ 12 *omnino.* [followed by *tamen* Plin. *Ep.* II 19, § 6, J. E. B. M.]

§ 13 *in civitate.* In 2nd l. of quotation read *nevolt* for *non vult*, and cf. Naev. 90 Ribb. *numquam quisquam amico amanti amica nimis fiet fidelis.*

§ 15 *in Stoicis*, cf. *Brut.* 114. On *progressus* cf. Reid *Acad.* I 20.

§ 16 *missus est.* The treatise was perhaps that entitled *Sosus* after a Stoic compatriot, see *Acad.* II 12 and Zeller IV 597 foll.

magnitudine et quasi gradibus non genere differrent (τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον, οὐκ εἴδει διαφέρει). Cf. *Verr.* III 203 *quasi ea res—et ea...inter se genere injuriae, non magnitudine pecuniae differat.*

§ 17 *me intuens.* [see Wyttenb. on Eunap. p. 227, J. E. B. M.]

quae res agatur. [cf. *Fin.* II 3 *omnis autem in quaerendo, quae via quadam et ratione habetur, oratio, praescribere primum debet, ut quibusdam in formulis, 'ea res agetur'*, J.E.B.M.]

nisi molestum est. See Reid on *Ac.* I 14.

nihil scire. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 88 § 4 *Academici novam induxerunt scientiam, nihil scire.*

aequum. *Fin.* II 119 *ejuro iniquum hac quidem de re: tu enim ista lenius, hic Stoicorum more nos vexat.*

§ 18 *ex deorum concilio.* Cf. *Div.* I 49, Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* XIV 27, Justin M. *Coh. ad Gent.* p. 6 B, Luc. *Jup. Trag.* 45.

aedificatorem mundi. [cf. Wetst. on Hebr. XI 10, J.E.B.M.]

de Timaeo. Aristotle (*de Anima* I 3) refers to the dialogue as though it were written by Timaeus.

§ 19 *quibus oculis.* Justin M. *Cohort.* 5 B.

apte cadere. In 4th l. of note for 'just below' read 'below § 23'.

optata. Add Arist. *Pol.* IV 11 πολιτείαν τὴν κατ' εὐχὴν γινομένην II 1, IV 1 ὥσπερ εὐχόμενοι [and cf. Dobree *Advers.* I 254, J. E. B. M.].

§ 20 *physiologiam.* For the clause beginning *id est*, cf. Reid *Acad.* I 5, 8, 32.

§ 21 *exstiterint.* [For the arg. cf. Acad. II 119 from Aristotle, Diels *Doxog.* p. 300, Zeller *Vorträge* (Ser. 2), p. 546, August. *Conf.* XI 10 foll., *C. D.* XI 4 foll., Jourdain *Thomas Aquinas* II p. 267, J. E. B. M.]

spatio tamen. I am now inclined to agree with Wyttenbach and Vaucher (*Cur. Crit.* Lausanne 1865) in transposing the words which are treated in the note as a gloss. For the language cf. *Off.* I 9 *in deliberationem cadere; in rationem utilitatis c.; Off.* III 17 *in nostram intellegentiam c.*

§ 22 *signis.* We have the same comparison of stars to statues in the Aristotelian quotation II 95. The quotation from the *Orator* in n. is from § 134, not § 131.

quae si esset. On the reason for Creation see Theodoret *Provid.* p. 507 Sch.

§ 24 *hactenus.* Cf. *Att.* VI 2 *de isto hactenus dixerim, me vel plura vincla optare*, and passages cited in L. and S. s. v. III B.

celeritate. Cf. *Ac.* II 82.

inhabitabiles. Panaetius doubted this (Zeller IV 568) and Posidonius (Bake p. 91 foll.) blamed Aristotle for speaking of the torrid zone as uninhabitable, cf. Bunbury *Anc. Geog.* I p. 625, Strabo II 5 § 13, Cleom. I 6 § 32.

§ 25 text. *et mente, mentem cur aquae adjunxit? menti autem cur aquam adjunxit, si* Or. Ba., *et mente, cur aquae mentem, menti autem cur aquam adjunxit, si* Sch. Mu.

vacans corpore. See below § 30 on ἀσώματον [and cf. *Tusc.* I 50, J. E. B. M.].

§ 27 *aperta simplexque.* 'pure unbodied spirit'.

quod plerisque contingeret. The depreciatory view of mankind in general here

attributed to Pythagoras (this is implied by the subjunctive) is witnessed to in the lines cited by Iamblichus (*V. P.* 259) τοὺς μὲν ἑταίρους ἦγεν ἴσον μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἡγεῖτ' οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

§ 28 *Xenophanes.* Cf. Nicolaus Dam. ap. Diels, p. 481; and for the phrase *omne quod esset, Div.* II 33 *physici omne quod esset unum dixerunt;* for the Epicurean polemic, Sext. Emp. IX 149 εἰ ἄπειρόν ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, οὔτε κινεῖται οὔτε ἔμψυχόν ἐστιν.

§ 29 *in deorum numero.* Correct this n. by that on II 54.

§ 30 *in Timaeo.* Philemon *frag. inc.* 26 and 86 Mein. τί ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς οὐ θέλει σε μανθάνειν· ἀσεβεῖς τὸν οὐ θέλοντα μανθάνειν θέλων. Forchhammer makes the same transposition as I have done, only placing a comma after *censeat.*

ἀσώματον. In *Acad.* I 39 Cic. translates this by *non corpus.* [cf. Le Nourry on Tertull. *Apoc.* c. 7 art. 4, J. E. B. M.]

§ 32 *vim quandam.* For 'predicate' read 'subject', and for 28 read 27.

§ 34 *refert in deos.* See on II 54.

§ 35 *signis.* Read '*sidus* as contrasted with *stella*'.

§ 36 *naturalem legem.* Cf. II 79 [*Fin.* IV 11, J. E. B. M.].

θεογονίαν. Many Stoic annotations are contained in the existing Scholia to the Theogony. See Flack *Gloss. u. Schol.* p. 29 foll.

§ 37 *mundum deum.* See the Stoic proof in Bk II §§ 19—47 [and cf. Tertull. *Apol.* 24, Tatian c. 3, Lact. IV 9, J. E. B. M.].

quasi delirans. Cf. Reid on *Acad.* II 14 *quasi mente incitati,* ib. II 74 *quasi irati.*

§ 38 *honore afficere.* For § 33 read § 36.

quorum esset futurus. Cf. III 49, and Firmicus 6 *in istis profanis religionibus sciatis esse mortes hominum consecratas;* ib. 7 *miscetis terrena caelestibus; dolores hominum divinis honoribus consecrantur;* ib. 8 *si di sunt quos colitis, cur eos lugetis? si lacrimis digni sunt, cur eos divino honore cumulatis?*

§ 40 *Neptunum.* So Xenocrates in Stob. *Ecl.* I 3, 5, Flack *Gloss.* p. 78.

§ 42 *vincula.* Tertull. *Apol.* 14.

§ 43 *quae est gens.* Arist. *Eth.* X 2, 4 ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' εἶναι φάμεν.

§ 44 *maneat—consensio.* [same word in Minuc. § 8, J. E. B. M.]

insitas. See however II 12 n. on *innatum est.*

de quo—necesse est. [cf. *Tusc.* I 35, J. E. B. M.]

rebus novis nova nomina. [Fin. III 3, J. E. B. M.]

§ 45 *quod beatum.* Add Diog. L. VII 123 οὐ γὰρ ἄλλους βλάπτειν οὔθ' αὑτούς (of the Stoic sage). [Tertull. *adv. Marc.* I 25 *si aliquem de Epicuri schola deum affectavit Christi nomine titulare, ut quod beatum et incorruptibile sit neque sibi neque aliis molestias praestet,* &c., J. E. B. M.] Just the opposite was said of Alexander (Arrian VII 1, 8) πράγματα ἔχων τε καὶ παρέχων ἄλλοις. For the κύριαι δόξαι the ref. should be to Diog. X 27, 138, Luc. *Pseudon.* c. 47.

§ 48 *ratio—figura.* Cf. Max. Tyr. *Diss.* VIII.

§ 49 *quasi.* Sen. *Ira* I 2 *non est ira sed quasi ira.*

non sensu sed mente. The ref. to Lucr. in n. should be to the quotation given under *occurrit* § 46.

p. 146 l. 7. For 714 read 774.

mentem intentam. Cf. *Ac.* II 30 *mens naturalem vim habet quam intendit ad ea quibus movetur,* ib. 46 *defigunt animos et intendunt in ea quae perspicua sunt.*

cum infinita—affluat. Gell. v 16 (Epicurus holds) *affluere semper ex omnibus corporibus simulacra quaedam.*

p. 148 l. 4 'nothing more'. So Sext. Emp. IX 19 μηδενὸς ἄλλου παρὰ ταῦτα ὄντος τοῦ ἄφθαρτον φύσιν ἔχοντος.

§ 50 *aequabilem.* Arist. *Meteorol.* I 3 πολὺ γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλλοι τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς κοινῆς ἀναλογίας πρὸς τὰ σύστοιχα σώματα (the other three elements); Philo *Incorr. Mund.* 21 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἰσονομίαν τῷ κόσμῳ, and below, τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἰσονομίας ταύτης ἀεὶ φυλαττομένης; also Plato's doctrine of ἀνταπόδοσις (*Phaedo* 70 foll.).

§ 51 *nihil agit.* [cf. *Off.* II 4, Aesch. *Pers.* 606 Blomf., J. E. B. M.]

§ 52 *dixerimus.* [No example of this potential force in the plural is found in writers before Cic. and only one other in him (*dixerimus* in *Tusc.* III 7), if *viderimus* is regarded as fut. exact. J. H. Schmalz compares also Quintil. VI 2 § 17, Colum. II 2 § 3, III 1 § 2, XIII 1 § 2, and fourteen other exx., one each from Livy, Petronius, and perhaps Tacitus (*Germ.* 29 *numeraverimus*), the others mostly from Ulpian, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.* I pp. 347, 348, 1884. J. E. B. M.]

§ 54 *vis atomorum.* Caes. *B. C.* II 26 *vis magna pulveris*, III 5 *vim frumenti.*

§ 55 μαντική. Cf. II 162.

§ 57 *non tam facile*, &c. cf. below §§ 60, 91 [Athenag. *Res.* II p. 51 b, J. E. B. M.].

§ 58 *cum te.* Cf. II 24 *animadversum est cum cor palpitaret.*

§ 59 *coryphaeum.* *Dig.* XXVII 1 l. 13 § 2 Ulpian is called κορυφαῖος τῶν νομικῶν, so Simplicius of Theophrastus (Wimmer's ed. vol. 3 p. 176).

Zenonem audiebam frequenter. This use of *frequenter* ('repeatedly', 'over and over again') is somewhat rare in C. I think it is the most appropriate in II 136 *frequenter ducatur* (of breathing), though we might take that to mean 'in large draughts'; and it is plainly required in *Orator* 221 *non modo non frequenter, verum etiam raro in veris causis circumscripte numeroseque dicendum est, Caecina* 77 *is qui adesse nobis frequenter in hac causa solet, C. Aquillius.* We find it joined with *creber* in *Orat.* 81 (*orator*) *tralatione fortasse crebrior, qua frequentissume sermo omnis utitur, Planc.* 83 *haec frequenter in me congessisti, saneque in eo creber fuisti, te idcirco &c.*, which seems to show that it had not quite broken loose from its earlier meaning. In *Orat.* II 156 *Carneadem et Critolaum et Diogenem...et a se et ab aliis frequenter auditos*, it seems more natural to understand it, after *et a se*, in the later sense, than in the earlier ('in large numbers') with Prof. Wilkins.

bona venia. [add to exx. in lexx. Fronto p. 291 Naber *quod bona venia pietatis tuae dictum sit*, ib. p. 25, Mamertin, *Paneg. Maximin. Aug.* 6, J. E. B. M.]

§ 60 *quid non sit.* Cic. speaking in his own person (*Tusc.* I 70) says we know the existence of God, but not his form or abode.

Simonides. Plut. *Pyth. Orac.* 409 D, Bentley *Remarks* p. 307.

§ 61 *credo si.* So Stilpo being asked whether the gods were really pleased with the worship offered to them, answered 'do not ask me in the street but alone' (Diog. II 117); cf. *N. D.* frag. 1 *non esse illa vulgo disputanda, Herenn.* IV c. 18 *qui in sermonibus et conventu amicorum verum dixerit numquam, eum sibi in contionibus credis a mendacio temperaturum?*

ego—is. [cf. Shilleto on Dem. *F. L.* § 77, citing, among other passages, Cic. *ad Q. Fr.* I § 6 *qui modo fratre fuerim beatissimus, is...possim*, J. E. B. M.], also *Ac.* II 66, *R. P.* I 7.

§ 62 *quae communia sunt. Fin.* IV 24 *quae sunt communia vobis cum antiquis, iis sic utamur ut concessis.*

§ 63 *Protagoras.* [see Chrys. *Hom.* 4 in 1 Cor. p. 30 with Field's n. J. E. B. M.]

habeo dicere. Cf. Reid on *Acad.* II 43.

combusti. Cf. Aug. *C. D.* VII 34 with the nn. of Vives.

§ 66 *corpuscula.* [cf. *Tusc.* I 22, J. E. B. M.]

levia alia aspera rotunda alia partim. I propose now to repeat *partim* and transpose the 2nd *alia*, placing it before *levia*, 'some smooth, some rough, partly round, partly angular'.

ante enim judicasti. Cf. *Acad.* II. 8 *ceteri ante tenentur adstricti quam quid esset optimum judicare potuerunt* foll.

§ 67 *omnibus minimis.* [*Cluent.* 137, J. E. B. M.]

§ 68 text. Forchhammer (p. 38) proposes to read *non igitur aeterni* (*quod enim ex atomis, id natum aliquando est*)*; si nati, nulli dei ante quam nati.*

§ 71 text. *hoc mirabilius quod vos inter vos risum tenere possitis.* Forchhammer (p. 38) gets nearer to the MSS by inserting *quam* before *quod.*

nec (after *negat*). [see Hand Tursell. IV 124, J. E. B. M.]

§ 74 *quid est quod.* The 4th line in this n. has a quotation from Plin. *Ep.* III (not II) 16 where see Mayor's n. and add Sen. *N. Q.* II 47, Apul. *Apol.* 1. For the thought, add *Fin.* II 13 *ergo illi intellegunt quid Epic. dicat, ego non intellego?*

§ 76 text. I think Allen and Forchhammer are right in retaining the MS order *possit quod nulla alia figura domicilium mentis esse.* The position of *possit* shows that it is the clinching argument.

§ 77 *deos ipsos.* Dion Chrys. *Or.* XII p. 405, Tholuck *Heathenism* Eng. Tr. p. 20.

auxerunt opifices. [Philostr. *Apoll.* VIII 7 § 22, Plut. *Mor.* p. 167, J.E.B.M.]

§ 78 *ingeniis. Orat.* I 6, 106, 115, *Fin.* IV 62, *Or.* 48, *N. D.* II 126. I observe that Prof. Wilkins takes the pl. *sermonum* in Hor. *A. P.* 69 to mean 'style' or 'language'. This would form a parallel to my interpretation of *orationibus* here.

homo nemo. See II 81 and n. on II 96.

§ 79 *et quidem.* Add to exx. of ironical use of *et*, III 82 *et praedones.*

hujus. See Plin. *Ep.* III 5 § 2 with Mayor's n.

collegae, as one of the *pontifices.*

Auroram. Cf. *Job* XXXI 27 and *Apost. Constit.* II 59 τὰ ἔθνη ἐξ ὕπνου καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναστάντα τρέχει ἐπὶ τὰ εἴδωλα λατρεύειν αὐτοῖς.

§ 80 *ecquos.* Varro *Men.* 344 *de Venere paeta strabam facit.*

§ 81 *barbaria.* [*Tusc.* V 77, Sen. *Ep.* 28 § 4, Lamprid. *Alex.* 58 § 5, Ammian. XXXI 4 and 9, J. E. B. M.] It is also used of particular nations, as in II 88.

§ 82 *fando.* [cf. Plin. *Pan.* 86 § 2 *fando inauditum*, J. E. B. M.]

Sospitam. Liv. VIII 14 *Lanuvinis civitas data sacraque sua reddita cum eo ut aedes lucusque Sosp. Jun. communis Lanuvinis municipibus cum populo Romano esset.* For the Acc. see Madv. on *Fin.* II 8, 88.

scutulo. [ἅπ. λεγ. in this its literal sense, J. E. B. M.]

repandis. [see *Archiv. f. latein. Lexikographie* I 321 foll. (1884), J. E. B. M.]

§ 83 *laudamus.* *Leg.* II 8 *lex recte est laudata;* Plin. *N. H.* x 4 *eodem loco Liber Eutychidis laudatur*, 'there is a famous statue of Bacchus by Eutychides'.

§ 84 *confiteri nescire.* Cf. *Ac.* II 128 *considerare—amittere* with Reid's n., also ib. I 7 and 18. The omission of the subject seems to me to emphasize the meaning of the verb, making it equivalent to an abstract noun.

§ 85 text. For *visu* Forchhammer reads *corpore sunt di;* for *ita*, *item.* On pleonastic *ita* after Rel. see Madv. *Fin.* v 77.

§ 87 *numquidnam.* *Or.* II 13 *numquidnam, inquit, novi?* Ter. *Eun.* II 1, 41. For the argument see below § 96.

§ 88 *ut—non crederes.* In quotation from II 86 read *dicat* for *dicet.*

(97) *rubro mari.* Arrian *Indica* c. 30, Philostr. *V. A.* III 57, Bunbury *Anc. Geog.* I 534 'It is not uncommon for a steamer bound from Aden to Bombay to encounter a school of whales similar to that which caused such alarm to the fleet of Nearchus'.

§ 90 *video.* So *audio Tusc.* II 46, *Rosc. Am.* 58.

§ 91 *cognationem.* *Div.* I 64.

§ 92 *itaque nulla ars.* Arist. *Eth.* II 6 § 9.

habebit igitur linguam. The argument against the human form of the gods may be compared with that of Origen against the crude view of the resurrection of the body (ed. Lomm. vol. 17, p. 61), *quo enim membra genitalia, si nuptiae non erunt? quo dentes, si cibi non molendi sunt? quo venter et cibi, si juxta Apostolum et hic et illi destruentur?*

§ 93 *cum—vexarit.* For *vexo* cf. § 73 (not 78).

§ 94 *adhibetur homini.* I think this must be treated as Dat. of Agent, on which see Index. It is softened down by the preceding gerundive and probably by the frequent use of the Dat. of Object with *adhibeo*, see below on II 124.

§ 97 Not. Crit. l. 18 for § 84 read § 88.

canis nonne similis lupo? Reid on *Ac.* II 50 cites Plato *Soph.* 231 καὶ γὰρ κυνὶ (προσέοικε) λύκος, ἀγριώτατον ἡμερωτάτῳ.

§ 98 *sortiri quid loquare.* Cf. Fabricius on the use of ἀποκληρωτικός in Sext. Emp. *P. H.* III 79.

§ 101 text. There should be a full stop after *consecraverunt.*

§ 102 On *cessatio* see above § 51 and *Fin.* II c. 13. Perhaps it is better to take *sic* with *volumus*, 'is our wish to give the gods a holiday really based on a fear that happiness is inconsistent with activity?'

§ 103 Schwencke considers this and the following paragraphs to be an unaltered fragment of the original Stoic treatise followed by Cic.; that then in § 105, finding it inconvenient to continue the subject, he suddenly recurs to the topic of § 49, and has forgotten to erase the unfinished part.

quae sedes. Cf. Sen. *V. B.* 31 *deus sedens opus suum spectet an tractet? utrumne extrinsecus illi circumfusus sit an toti inditus?* Tert. *Apol.* 47.

§ 104 *postremo.* I now think there is no occasion to change this to *porro.* A careless 'lastly' is very intelligible in hasty composition; and here the repetition is veiled by the intervening *denique.* For *postremo* followed by *denique* cf. *Ac.* II 136 where Reid refers to the triple repetition of *denique* in *Orator* 74. Similarly we find a thrice-repeated *deinde* in *Sex. Rosc.* 130.

§ 105 *Hippocentauro*. To the exx. of its use add *Dig.* 45. 1. 97, and Chrysost. *ad Col. hom.* 7 passim. We find the form *Centaurus* III 51, 70.

§ 109 *inquit*. Forchhammer p. 43 foll. limits and classifies the exx. of this use.

§ 110 *actuosa*. [add to lexx. Sen. *Tranq.* 4 § 8, *Ira* II 19 § 2, Arnob. II 8 and cf. Lucian *Hermot.* 79 ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ ἐν ἔργοις δή που ἐστίν, J. E. B. M.]

§ 112 *perfundas*. *Fin.* II c. 34.

ut poetae. *Fin.* II 23 *adsint formosi pueri qui ministrent.* Epicurus attributed to his gods the enjoyment of such feasts, see on § 49 and Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* XIV 27.

locupletior hominum natura. [cf. Sen. *Ep.* 76 § 25, J. E. B. M.]

§ 113 *neque nunc reprehendo quod referantur, sed doceo.* Cf. *Planc.* 44 *neque ego nunc consilium reprehendo tuum quod eas tribus non edideris, sed doceo; N. D.* III 21 *non quod difficile sit;* Roby §§ 1738, 1744.

§ 114 *satin*. Cic. does not seem to use this colloquialism elsewhere, but we find *ain* in the letters (*Fam.* IX 21, *Att.* IV 5).

mihi pulchre est. Cf. *bene est*, *belle se habere*, and nn. on Petron. c. 34 fin.

cogitat. [For the Sing. cf. *Odyss.* IV 692 and Kühner § 430, J. E. B. M.]

§ 119 *colere precari venerarique*. See Weissenborn on Liv. XXXIX 15.

Ennius. [cf. August. *Consens. Evang.* I § 32, J. E. B. M.]

Samothraciam. See *Contemp. Rev.* May 1882, Conze *Arch. Unters. auf Samothrake* Vienna 1875.

quibus explicatis. Merkel *Fasti* p. CLXXXIX.

§ 120 *hortulos*. [cf. *Leg.* I §§ 39, 54, J. E. B. M.]

§ 122 *verbum amoris* 'a term of affection', cf. II 72 *laudis nomen*, *Flacc.* 11 *non jurisjurandi sed laedendi verba meditatur*, *Planc.* 34 *quae umquam Plancii vox fuit contumeliae potius quam doloris?*

Text. *quod ni ita sit*. I see no reason for the Subj. and should prefer to read *est*.

§ 124 I am indebted to my old pupil Mr W. F. Smith, fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, for the following note: "this was a favourite illustration of Shilleto's on *Phaedo* 95 A, τὰ μὲν Ἁρμονίας ἵλεά πως γέγονε, the word ἵλεως being used for the ceremonious farewell to a deity, while χαῖρε denotes the farewell to a mortal. Consequently the opposition of *valeat* to *propitius sit* implies 'I deny his divinity'. Compare Thucyd. III 104 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν, χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι, Plat. *Rep.* 496 E, Eur. *Hel.* 1007". Add to these Plato *Leg.* XI 923, *Euthyd.* 273, *Epin.* 975 (a corrupt passage in which ἵλεως and χαίρω are brought into connexion), Cic. *Att.* II 9 *patria propitia sit* 'farewell to my country', Nonnus *Dionys.* VIII 73 οὐρανὸς ἱλήκοι, XLIV 170 οὐρανὸς ἀστερόφοιτος ἐμὴ πόλις· ἵλατε Θῆβαι.

LIB. II.

Text p. 14 l. 19 Not. Crit. after *sed est* add 'edd.'

p. 16 l. 24. Schwencke in *Jbr. f. cl. Alterth.* vol. 35 p. 92 says that A is now found to agree with the other MSS in omitting *est*.

p. 18 l. 11. Schwencke l. c. says *potest esse* is written 'in ras.' in B.

p. 24 l. 23. For *qui* L. Müller reads *quin*.

p. 25 l. 15. Schwencke l. c. states that A agrees in the corrupt *recidant*.

p. 31 l. 31. The note should be on p. 32 l. 6.

p. 32 l. 17. *Faciet* is the reading of Orelli's B, not of **B**.

p. 38 l. 6. *spiritu*. Transpose V^1 and V^2.

p. 40 l. 7. 'A agrees in *admiscetur*', Schw. l. c.

p. 52 Deiter l. c. says B has *mollitur* not *molitur*.

p. 53 l. 1. 'A has *recipit* not *recepit*', Schw. l. c.

§ 1 *conturbor*. Cf. *Acad.* II 10 bis.

corona. Cf. *Fin.* IV 74 *non ego tecum jam ita jocabor, ut isdem his de rebus cum L. Murenam te accusante defenderem. Apud imperitos tum illa dicta sunt; aliquid etiam coronae datum; nunc agendum est subtilius.*

§ 4 *aspice*. Compare with *hoc* I 95 *solem illum*. *Subl. candens*, lit. 'this that dazzles on high'.

§ 6 *Castor et Pollux*. On the mediaeval belief in the interposition of heavenly warriors, cf. Burton *Melancholy* p. 671.

cum equis. Caes. *B. C.* I 26 *naves cum tabulatis* Kraner's n.

§ 7 p. 75 last l. but 2, for N. D. 153 read N. D. III 14 n.

§ 10 *atqui*. om. 'I 19'.

§ 11 *tenetis*. I now think that with *jus* this must mean 'maintain', not 'understand'.

§ 12 *signa—peccavit*. Cited by Amm. Marc. XXI 1 § 12.

omnes omnium. [Cf. *Philipp.* II 76, *Cael.* 14, Plin. *Ep.* III 11 § 7 n., J. E. B. M.]

§ 16 *desipientis arrogantiae est*. This argument may be illustrated from the writings of a modern Stoic: "shall we poor earthworms have sublimer thoughts than the universe, of which we are poor chips—mere effluvia of mind—shall we have sublimer thoughts than that universe can furnish out into reality?" *Life of George Eliot*, I p. 194.

§ 17 *an non possis*. Add to exx. *Div.* II 123 *an Serapis potest...Neptunus non potest?*

§ 18 *spirabilem* n. On the microcosm cf. Nemes. I 26 *τίς οὖν ἀξίως θαυμάσειε τὴν εὐγένειαν τούτου τοῦ ζῴου, τοῦ συνδέοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ θνητὰ τοῖς ἀθανάτοις... τοῦ φέροντος ἐν τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν φύσει τῆς πάσης φύσεως τὴν εἰκόνα δι' ὃ καὶ μικρὸς κόσμος εἴρηται*; [See also *N. Ferrar* pp. 239, 240, Bacon *Adv. of Learning* 109, 134, 290, 295, J. Davies ed. Grosart p. 98, Philo I 334, 444, II 608, Clem. Al. *Protr.* I § 5, Hieron. *in Koheleth* 9. 14 seq., Chalcid. *in Tim.* p. 202. J.E.B.M.]

§ 19 p. 104 l. 6. For § 34 read § 54.

§ 20. For other exx. of the pl. of *convicium* Reid (*Ac.* II 34) cites *Att.* II 18, *Fin.* I 69, *Cluent.* 39, &c.

angustia. For the sing. cf. *blanditia Lael.* 91 with Reid's n.

§ 23 *dixeram*. On the pluperfect, cf. *Ac.* II 76 *quaesieras*, 79 *dixeram*, with Reid's nn. and Draeg. § 130 B.

confirmari. For other exx. of the passive Inf. used where we should have expected the active, cf. *Acad.* I 2 *occultari velit*, I 32 *explanari volebant*, II 42 *obscurari volunt* with Reid's n., Plaut. *Capt.* I 2, 72 *te vocari ad cenam volo* (for *te voco*), *Cas.* prol. 30 *comoediai nomen dari vobis volo* (for *dabo*).

quae alantur. For 'the lowest stage' read 'this includes all stages'.

§ 25 *ea—in terris*. [Wopkens *Advers.* II 68, Drakenb. on Liv. I 3 § 9, J. E. B. M.]

maria tepescunt. Arist. *Probl.* xxxviii 2 ἡ θάλαττα θερμὴ καὶ αὐχμώδης ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ἅλμην.

§ 27 *quam similitudinem.* Add iii 8 *ea facultas.*

§ 35 *rerum institutione.* Cf. Reid *Acad.* i 23 on *descriptio naturae.*

§ 39 *est autem—perfectius.* For the change from indirect to direct construction cf. Index and *Acad.* i 42 *viae reperiuntur,* where Reid cites Madv. *Fin.* i 30, iii 50.

§ 41 *confector.* [Sen. *Ira* iii 43 § 2, Tac. *Ann.* xiv 39, Vopisc. *Aurelian* 19, Isid. *Orig.* xviii 2, Firmic. *Math.* iv 7, J. E. B. M.]

consumptor. [Ambr. *Hex.* ii 14 *ignis omnis consumptor umoris est,* J. E. B. M.]

§ 42 *animantium ortus.* Add Hippolyt. *Ref. Haer.* x 33.

§ 43 *cibo quo utare.* Mr Roby has sent me another ex. of the use of *cibo* as a predicative Dat. at the beginning of the clause, Plin. *N. H.* xxix 3 § 48 (speaking of eggs) *Cibo quot modis juvent notum est,* 'as food, in how many ways they are useful is well known'.

interesse ad mentis aciem. Sen. *Ep.* 108 § 22 *abstinere animalibus coepi et anno peracto non tantum facilis erat mihi consuetudo sed dulcis: agitatiorem mihi animum esse credebam.*

§ 45. Schwencke l. c. remarks that *praesentio, praesensio* are intended to represent πρόληψις.

§ 46 *quam volet.* Add to exx. *Flacc.* 35.

§ 49 *bis bina.* Add Galen π. ψυχ. ἁμ. 59 'the geometer knows his Euclid as well as another man knows τὰ δὶς δύο τέτταρα εἶναι'. [Aug. *Conf.* i c. 13 *jam vero unum et unum duo, duo et duo quattuor, odiosa cantio mihi erat,* J. E. B. M.]

§ 51 *magnum annum.* [cf. Aug. *Gen. ad litt. imp.* § 38, J. E. B. M.]

§ 52 *a terra abest.* On the position of the planets cf. Hippolytus *Ref. Haer.* iv 6.

triginta annis. [Sen. *N. Q.* i *Prol.* § 13, vii 29 § 1, J. E. B. M.]

§ 53 *unius signi.* Acc. to Hippol. l. c. v. 13 ζῴδιον = 30 μοῖραι, μοῖρα = 60 λεπτά.

§ 64 χρόνος. [Aug. *Cons. Evang.* i § 34, J. E. B. M.]

§ 69 *atque ex ea potius venustas.* I believe Cicero wrote *estque* not *atque.*

§ 73 *magnus sane locus.* So *magnifica vox Off.* iii 1.

causa incognita. [cf. *Verr. Act.* i § 39, *Act.* ii 1 § 25, ii § 81, 105, v 41, *Cluent.* 130, *Dom.* 20, Lactant. v 1 § 2; *re incogn. Cluent.* 76, *Caec.* 29, J. E. B. M.]

§ 74 *ut si quis.* Cf. above on § 15 [and *Tusc.* ii 12, 67, Seyffert *Schol. Lat.* i 186, ii 92, J. E. B. M.] We have a different use below § 86, and i 88.

[*natio.* So *n. candidatorum, Mur.* 69 and *Piso* 55, *philosophi credula natio* Seneca *N. Q.* vi 26, of historians ib. vii 16; also Minuc. 8 § 4, Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 8 § 4, Chalcid. *Tim.* p. 19[d] *poetica.* J. E. B. M.]

in te unum. Cf. *Ac.* ii 62 *provide ne uni tibi istam sententiam minime liceat defendere,* which Reid translates 'you of all men'.

§ 75 *ab animantibus principiis.* Lucr. gives the opposite theory in ii 865, *nunc ea quae sentire videmus cumque necesse est ex insensilibus tamen omnia confiteare principiis constare;* see n. on frag. 3 below.

§ 76 *majore vi.* For exx. of mixture of constructions after *necesse est,* see iii 86 *id necesse est sentiat—venire.*

§ 77 p. 191. The summary C b (3) should come immediately before ch. XXXI.

§ 81 *via progredientem.* For *seminibus* read *seminis vim.*

§ 83 *nobiscum videt*, 'contributes to our sight'.

§ 86 *dentes et pubertatem.* Cf. Plato *Tim.* 64 ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ὀστᾶ καὶ τρίχας ἐστὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γήϊνα τὸ πλεῖστον ἔχομεν ἐν ἡμῖν μόρια, Varro ap. Aug. *C. D.* VII 23 (on the three grades of life, the lowest being without sensation) *hanc vim in nostro corpore dixit permanare in ossa ungues capillos, sicut in mundo arbores sine sensu coluntur*, &c.

ut. [cf. *Off.* I 32, III 107, J. E. B. M.]

si qui dicat. Cf. *Off.* I 52 *si qui velit*, 144 *ut si qui meditetur*, *Off.* III 19 *si qui tyrannum occidit*, ib. 93, and Dumesnil on *Leg.* II 49.

§ 87 *cursum navigii.* This is the illustration ridiculed by Lucian *Imp. Trag.* 46 foll.

§ 89 *spiritu.* Used of the hissing of a serpent *Culex* l. 180.

§ 92 *multis partibus.* On the celestial magnitudes cf. Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* IV 8.

§ 94 *quem ad modum.* For the attraction of the principal verb into the subordinate construction, cf. *Tusc.* I 37 *itaque commemorat—faciendum*, Jelf's *Gr. Gr.* § 898, and Krueger *Unters.* p. 455.

§ 99 *stirpium asperitate.* *Div.* I 75 *in Lysandri statua corona exstitit ex asperis herbis atque agrestibus*, II 68 *herbam asperam avium congestu exstitisse.*

§ 100 *quae species.* So *Quirit. p. r.* 4 *quae species Italiae!...quae forma regionum!...quae pulchritudo urbis!*

§ 101 *determinatio.* [Tertull. *adv. Marc.* I 34, Iren. III 12 § 9, J. E. B. M.]

admirabilitate. This word, like *admirabiliter* (II 132), seems to be only used by Cic., cf. above § 90 and *Off.* II 38 *haec animi despicientia admirabilitatem magnam facit.*

§ 103 *interpositu.* The only other example quoted is from Plin. *N. H.* II 10 § 47, perhaps copied from Cicero.

§ 104 *ex notarum.* Add Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* IV 6 and 27.

§ 106 *Draco.* Some connect with this constellation the allusions in the book of *Job* (III 8, XXVI 13) to the celestial leviathan which causes the eclipse of the sun and moon.

§ 107 *cum totius.* At the end of n. read 'Allen' for 'Ba.'

obstipum. The line I have cited from Lucilius is assigned to Caecilius (*Imbrii* l. 99) by Ribbeck, who gives it in a different form *resupina obstipo capitulo sibi ventum facere tunicula.*

§ 108 *id autem caput.* Hippolytus (*Ref. Haer.* IV 47) mentions that certain heretics made Engonasin the First Adam, and Ophiuchus the Second Adam.

§ 111 *Cynosurae.* Ovid (*Trist.* V 3, 7) has *stellis Cynosuridos Ursae.*

aquilonis. Cf. below § 112 *aq. flamina pulsant*, § 114 *quam flatu permulcet spiritus Austri.*

§ 115 *ad medium.* The quotation from Nemesius continues καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔξω μεγεθῶν καὶ ποιοτήτων ἀποτελεστικὴν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔσω ἑνώσεως καὶ οὐσίας. Cf. Zell. p. 131 n. 3, p. 118 from Philo *Deus immutab.* 298 D.

§ 120 *tamquam manibus.* [Ambr. *Hex.* III § 49, J. E. B. M.]

§ 123 *ut in araneolis.* In quotation from Arist. *H. A.* IX for οὐκ read οὐχ before ὑφαίνει.

§ 124 *bestiis cibus quaeritur.* Cf. *Off.* III 38 *honesta bonis viris quaeruntur.* Comparing *Cluent.* 70 *mihi ipsi praeter periculum quid quaeretur*, and the Active *quaerit sibi cibum bestia*, we shall see that this Dat. is closely connected with that of 'Advantage'. See above on I 94 *adhibetur homini*, Madv. *Fin.* I 11, Draeg. § 189.

exclusi. [Tert. *adv. Valent.* 25 and 36, Ampel. 2 § 12, Hygin. *Fab.* 197, Ambr. *Hex.* V 9, J. E. B. M.]

§ 127 *cervae.* See Periz. on Ael. *V. H.* XIII 35.

§ 128 *eoque saeptum.* Cf. Orig. *de Resurrect.* Lomm. vol. 17 p. 62 foll.

ut intellegamus. Insert I, before § 17.

§ 129 *pisces.* Schwencke l. c. refers to Chrysippus ap. Plut. *St. Rep.* p. 1038 *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Δικαιοσύνης 'καὶ τὰ θηρία, φησί, συμμέτρως τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν ἐκγόνων ᾠκειῶσθαι πρὸς αὐτὰ πλὴν τῶν ἰχθύων· αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ κυήματα τρέφεται δι' αὐτῶν'.*

§ 130 *Indus.* [Liv. XXI 31 § 10, Philostr. *Apoll.* II 18, Strabo XV 1 § 25. Ukert II (1) 46, J. E. B. M.]

§ 135 *tonsillas.* The ref. in Festus should be to p. 536.

atque agitatione. There is a pleonastic *is* after *atque* in *Off.* III 94 *optavit (Phaethon) ut in currum patris tolleretur: sublatus est, atque is, antequam constitit, ictu fulminis deflagravit.*

§ 136 *aspera arteria.* [Lucian *Hist. Conscr.* 7, Plut. *Qu. Symp.* VII 1, Macrob. *Sat.* VII 15, Plin. *N. H.* XI 66, J. E. B. M.]

assimilis spongiis mollitudo. For the abbreviated comparison, cf. II 153 *similis deorum* n., Xen. *Cyrop.* V 1 ὁμοίαν ταῖς δούλαις εἶχε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, Nitzsch on *Od.* II 121, Krueger *Gr. Sprachl.* § 48. 11. 9, Sen. *Benef.* IV 27 *aciem habent Lynceo similem*, *Tusc.* V 73 *Epicurus non multum differens a judicio ferarum*, Holden on *Off.* I 76 *legibus conferendi sunt*, Wilkins on *Or.* I 15 *ceteris hominibus.*

§ 139 *nervi.* In the 8th l. from the end of this note, read § 136 for § 128.

§ 140 *erectos.* Stob. *Flor.* II 26 a.

in arce. [Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* I 6 § 81, J. E. B. M.]

§ 141 *vicinitatem.* Cf. *Att.* X 18 *Formias nunc sequimur*, *Orat.* I 28 *umbram secutus est Socrates.*

amandavit. [cf. *Off.* I 126 *quae partes corporis ad naturae necessitatem datae aspectum essent deformem habiturae atque foedum, eas contexit (natura) atque abdidit*, J. E. B. M.]

§ 144 *a quo.* See n. on § 134 *ab iis.*

flexuosum iter. [cf. Cels. VIII 1 *in aure quoque primo rectum et simplex iter, procedendo flexuosum, juxta cerebrum in multa et tenuia foramina diducitur;* the word *flex.* is already used by Cato *R. R.* 33. 1. J. E. B. M.]

irrepere seems to me better suited to *minima bestiola* than the *irrumpere* of MSS, compare however *Ac.* II 125 *imagines in animos nostros per corpus irrumpere*, ib. 136.

tegendi causa factae...et ne voces laberentur. [For the change of construction, cf. Liv. XXI 51 § 5 *consuli litterae de transitu Hannibalis et ut collegae ferret auxilium missae*, J. E. B. M.]

ex tortuosis locis. Clem. Al. *Strom.* VI § 33 *αἰτία δ', οἶμαι, πάσης ἠχοῦς ἥ τε λειότης τῶν τόπων καὶ τὸ ἀντρῶδες.*

§ 149 *plectri similem.* Plin. *N. H.* VII 15 *primores dentes concentu quodam excipiunt ictum linguae.* [Cf. Clem. *Recog.* 8 29, J. E. B. M.]

§ 153 *accedit ad cognitionem.* Cf. *Acad.* II 7 and 36 *ad verum accedant*, ib. II 86 *sine magnis artificiis ad quae pauci accedunt*, Nepos 18. 1. 4 (Eumenes) *ad amicitiam accessit Philippi*, Virg. *G.* II 483 *naturae accedere partes.*

§ 160 *sus.* [Aug. *Tract. in Joh.* VIII § 2, J. E. B. M.]

§ 161 *bellicae.* [Wyttenb. ad Plut. *Mor.* p. 8 d, J. E. B. M.]

§ 165 *magnam.* On this cf. Theopompus ap. Ael. *V. H.* III 18.

Gracchum, the father of the famous tribunes, cf. above § 10, *Fin.* IV 65, *Off.* II 43.

§ 167 *nemo.* For the inspiration of genius cf. *Arch.* 18.

LIB. III.

§ 23 *ullam vim esse.* Perhaps *ullam* may be retained, if we translate 'has no such power as to'.

earum artium homines. Cf. *Orat.* I 124 *ceterarum artium homines*, ib. II 37 *si qui aliarum artium.*

§ 43 *age porro.* Cf. *Verr.* V 56.

§ 59 *Syria Cyproque concepta.* The passage in which Tacitus describes the visit of Titus to the shrine at Paphos (*Hist.* II 3) supplies another example of the ablative after *conceptus*, and suggests the thought that possibly *Cinyraque*, rather than *Cyproque*, may be the true correction of the *Cyroque* of MSS: *fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc appulsam.*

M. TULLII CICERONIS

DE NATURA DEORUM.

LIBER TERTIUS.

I. Quae cum Balbus dixisset, tum arridens Cotta, Sero, 1
inquit, mihi, Balbe, praecipis, quid defendam. Ego enim te disputante, quid contra dicerem, mecum ipse meditabar, neque tam refellendi tui causa quam ea, quae minus intellegebam, requirendi. Cum autem suo cuique judicio sit utendum, difficile
factu est me id sentire, quod tu velis. Hic Velleius, Nescis, 2
inquit, quanta cum exspectatione, Cotta, sim te auditurus. Jucundus enim Balbo nostro sermo tuus contra Epicurum fuit; praebebo igitur ego me tibi vicissim attentum contra Stoicos auditorem. Spero enim te, ut soles, bene paratum venire.
Tum Cotta, Sic mehercule, inquit, Vellei; neque enim mihi 3
par ratio cum Lucilio est ac tecum fuit. Qui tandem? inquit ille. Quia mihi videtur Epicurus vester de dis immortalibus non magnopere pugnare; tantum modo negare deos esse non audet, ne quid invidiae subeat aut criminis. Cum vero deos nihil agere, nihil curare confirmat membrisque humanis esse praeditos, sed eorum membrorum usum nullum habere, ludere

2 *inquid* A[1] also in 7, 11, 12, p. 2 l. 12, and often. 6 *factu* [BV]MO Asc., *factum* ACEBC Oxf., *fatu* Red. N. 11 *sic* edd. after Lamb., *si* ABEV U Oxf. Asc.+, *sine* CB Red., *sed* Mars., *sim* Bouh. Ern., *sum* GHT Heind. 12 *par ratio* corr. ex *paratio* AB. 13 *quia* MSS generally, *quam* VUC, *quoniam* Oxf.

videtur satisque putare, si dixerit esse quandam beatam naturam
4 et aeternam. A Balbo autem animadvertisti, credo, quam multa dicta sint quamque, etiam si minus vera, tamen apta inter se et cohaerentia. Itaque cogito, ut dixi, non tam refellere ejus orationem quam ea, quae minus intellexi, requirere. Quare, Balbe, tibi permitto, responderene mihi malis de singulis rebus quaerenti ex te ea, quae parum accepi, an universam audire orationem meam. Tum Balbus: Ego vero, si quid explanari tibi voles, respondere malo; sin me interrogare non tam intellegendi causa quam refellendi, utrum voles, faciam, vel ad singula, quae requires, statim respondebo vel, cum peroraris, ad omnia.
5 Tum Cotta, Optime, inquit. Quam ob rem sic agamus, ut nos ipsa ducet oratio. II. Sed ante quam de re, pauca de me. Non enim mediocriter moveor auctoritate tua, Balbe, orationeque ea, quae me in perorando cohortabatur, ut meminissem me et Cottam esse et pontificem; quod eo, credo, valebat, ut opiniones, quas a majoribus accepimus de dis immortalibus, sacra, caerimonias religionesque defenderem. Ego vero eas defendam semper semperque defendi, nec me ex ea opinione, quam a majoribus accepi de cultu deorum immortalium, ullius umquam oratio aut docti aut indocti movebit. Sed cum de religione agitur, Ti. Coruncanium, P. Scipionem, P. Scaevolam, pontifices maximos, non Zenonem aut Cleanthem aut Chrysippum sequor, habeoque C. Laelium, augurem eundemque sapientem, quem potius audiam dicentem de religione in illa oratione nobili quam quemquam principem Stoicorum. Cumque omnis populi Romani religio in sacra et in auspicia divisa sit, tertium adjunctum sit, si quid praedictionis causa ex portentis et monstris Sibyllae interpretes haruspicesve monuerunt, harum ego religionum nullam umquam contemnendam putavi mihique ita persuasi, Romulum auspiciis, Numam sacris

7 *parum* BLO, *parvam* AEV^1, *parva* CV^2 Oxf. B+. *accepi* [BCEV] Oxf. Asc., *accipe* A, *cepi* or *percepi* Madv. 9 *sin* [ACE]BO, *si* BVC Oxf. 13 *ducet* edd. after Heind., *ducit* MSS. 22 *Ti.* edd. after Manut., *t.* A^{2}BO, *tunc* E, om. A^{1}CV Mus. *Coruncanium* [BCE]V^{2}L Oxf., *Coruncanum* V^{1}O, *quorum canium* AB. 24 *C. Laelium* BEM, *clelium* AV^1, *delium* Oxf., *C. Lelium* V^{2}OV, *glelium* B, *lelium* C (after erased letter). 30 *ego* AVMO Oxf. Asc., *ergo* BCEB, see p. 3 l. 4.

constitutis fundamenta jecisse nostrae civitatis, quae numquam
profecto sine summa placatione deorum immortalium tanta
esse potuisset. Habes, Balbe, quid Cotta, quid pontifex sentiat; 6
fac nunc ego intellegam, tu quid sentias. A te enim philosopho
rationem accipere debeo religionis, majoribus autem nostris
etiam nulla ratione reddita credere. III. Tum Balbus, Quam
igitur a me rationem, inquit, Cotta, desideras? Et ille, Quadripertita, inquit, fuit divisio tua, primum ut velles docere deos
esse, deinde quales essent, tum ab iis mundum regi, postremo
consulere eos rebus humanis. Haec, si recte memini, partitio
fuit. Rectissime, inquit Balbus; sed exspecto, quid requiras.

Tum Cotta, Primum quicque videamus, inquit; et, si id est 7
primum, quod inter omnes nisi admodum impios convenit, mihi
quidem ex animo exuri non potest, esse deos, id tamen ipsum,
quod mihi persuasum est auctoritate majorum, cur ita sit, nihil
tu me doces. Quid est, inquit Balbus, si tibi persuasum est, cur
a me velis discere? Tum Cotta, Quia sic aggredior, inquit, ad
hanc disputationem, quasi nihil umquam audierim de dis immortalibus, nihil cogitaverim; rudem me et integrum discipulum
accipe et ea, quae requiro, doce. Dic igitur, inquit, quid requi- 8
ras. Egone? primum illud, cur, quod in ista part*itione* ne
egere quidem oratione dixisses, quod esset perspicuum et inter
omnes constaret, de eo ipso tam multa dixeris. Quia te quoque,
inquit, animadverti, Cotta, saepe, cum in foro diceres, quam
plurimis posses argumentis onerare judicem, si modo eam facultatem tibi daret causa. Atque hoc idem et philosophi faciunt
et ego, ut potui, feci. Tu autem quod quaeris, similiter facis,
ac si me roges, cur te duobus contuear oculis et non altero
con*iveam*, cum idem uno assequi possim. IV. Tum Cotta, 9

1 *fundamenta—civitatis* om. A[1] (from homœoteleuton). 3 *potuisset* **IV**, *potuissent* X Oxf. **BOU**+. 4 *ego* Lactant. II 6, *ergo* X Mus., om. T. 6 *reddita*, Lact. l. c. adds *rationis est.* 11 *Balbus sed exspecto*, here P. begins. 14 *exuri* X**BLM** Oxf., *exire* **HNRV**GUT Red., *exui* **CO**, *eximi* anon. ap. Dav. Cobet *V. L.* (p. 463) Sch. Or. Ba., *erui* Walker, *excuti* Lamb. Mu., see Comm. 21 *quod in ista partitione* Heind. Or. Mu. Sch., *quod perspicuum in istam partem* MSS (Ba. after Dav. brackets *persp.—partem*), *cum istam partem* Forch. p. 52. 25 *posses* [V[2]] Oxf. **LO**, *possis* ABCEPV[1]**BH**, *posse* **V** Asc. 27 *quod quaeris* XU**BM** Oxf. + Forch. p. 25, *qui id q.* $\mathbf{V}_1$ Herv. Dav. Or. Ba. Sch. Mu. Allen, *quid q.* **V**. 29 *coniveam* edd. after Madv. cf. below 14, *contm̃* T, *tm̃* **LO**, *contuear* MSS

Quam simile istud sit, inquit, tu videris. Nam ego neque in causis, si quid est evidens, de quo inter omnes conveniat, argumentari soleo; perspicuitas enim argumentatione elevatur; nec, si id facerem in causis forensibus, idem facerem in hac subtilitate sermonis. Cur con*iveres* autem altero oculo, causa non esset, cum idem obtutus esset amborum, et cum rerum natura, quam tu sapientem esse vis, duo lumina ab animo ad oculos perforata nos habere voluisset. Sed quia non confidebas tam esse id perspicuum, quam tu velles, propterea multis argumentis deos esse docere voluisti. Mihi enim unum sat erat, ita nobis majores nostros tradidisse. Sed tu auctoritates contemnis,
10 ratione pugnas. Patere igitur rationem *me* meam cum tua ratione contendere. Affers haec omnia argumenta, cur di sint, remque mea sententia minime dubiam argumentando dubiam facis. Mandavi enim memoriae non numerum solum, sed etiam ordinem argumentorum tuorum. Primum fuit, cum caelum suspexissemus, statim nos intellegere esse aliquod numen, quo haec regantur. Ex hoc illud etiam:

> Aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.

11 Quasi vero quisquam nostrum istum potius quam Capitolinum Jovem appellet aut hoc perspicuum sit constetque inter omnes, eos esse deos, quos tibi Velleius multique praeterea ne animantes quidem esse concedant. Grave etiam argumentum tibi videbatur, quod opinio de dis immortalibus et omnium esset et cotidie cresceret. Placet igitur tantas res opinione stultorum judicari, vobis praesertim, qui illos insanos esse dicatis? V. At enim praesentes videmus deos, ut apud Regillum Postumius, in Salaria Vatinius; nescio quid etiam de Locrorum apud Sagram

generally, *et non altero coniveam* om. Cobet (Ba. notes that the word is often corrupted, as in II 143 *conluentibus*, *Catil.* II 27, *Leg. Agr.* II 77, *Harusp. Resp.* 38 and 52).

2 *de quo inter omnes conveniat*, om. Cobet *V. L.* p. 463. 5 *coniveres* edd. after Madv., *contueres* ABCPV^1**B**, *contuereris* EV^2 Oxf. **HM**+. 9 *velles* **O** edd. after Ern., *velis* MSS Draeg. § 152. 2, see below § 20. 12 *me meam* Ed., *meam* MSS and edd. see Comm. 19 *sublime* MSS, *sublimen* Sch. Or. Ba. see on II 4. *candens* Oxf. [BCEP], *cadens* A^{1}V**B**. 23 *concedant*, *concederent* Kayser. 25 *cotidie* CV Oxf., *cottidie* AB, *quottidie* E. 27 *praesentes* V^2[ABCE]**BOM**, *praesertis* V^1 Oxf., *praeseritis* P. 28 *Vatinius*

proelio. Quos igitur tu Tyndaridas appellabas, id est homines homine natos, et quos Homerus, qui recens ab illorum aetate fuit, sepultos esse dicit Lacedaemone, eos tu cantheriis albis nullis calonibus ob viam Vatinio venisse existimas et victoriam populi Romani Vatinio potius, homini rustico, quam M. Catoni, qui tum erat princeps, nuntiavisse? Ergo et illud in silice, quod hodie apparet apud Regillum tamquam vestigium ungulae,
Castoris equi credis esse? Nonne mavis illud credere, quod 12
probari potest, animos praeclarorum hominum, quales isti Tyndaridae fuerunt, divinos esse et aeternos, quam eos, qui semel cremati essent, equitare et in acie pugnare potuisse? aut, si hoc fieri potuisse dicis, doceas oportet, quo modo, nec fabellas aniles
proferas. Tum Lucilius, An tibi, inquit, fabellae videntur? 13
Nonne *ab* Aulo Postumio aedem Castori et Polluci in foro dedicatam, nonne senatus consultum de Vatinio vides? Nam de Sagra Graecorum etiam est vulgare proverbium, qui, quae affirmant, certiora esse dicunt quam illa, quae apud Sagram. His igitur auctoribus nonne debes moveri? Tum Cotta, Rumoribus, inquit, mecum pugnas, Balbe, ego autem a te rationes requiro.

VI. ...sequuntur, quae futura sunt; effugere enim nemo 14
id potest, quod futurum est. Saepe autem ne utile quidem est scire, quid futurum sit; miserum est enim nihil proficientem angi nec habere ne spei quidem extremum et tamen commune solacium, praesertim cum vos idem fato fieri dicatis omnia, quod autem semper ex omni aeternitate verum fuerit, id esse fatum. Quid igitur juvat aut quid affert ad cavendum scire aliquid futurum, cum id certe futurum sit? Unde porro ista divinatio? Quis invenit fissum jecoris? quis cornicis cantum notavit, quis

edd. after Heind., *Vatienus* XBMCR, so *Vatieno* p. 5 ll. 4 and 5 but see on p. 5 l. 15. *Sagram* [AV^2]M Asc. Oxf., *sacram* BCEPV^{1}BO+.

3 *eos tu* BM Asc., *eos tuq.* V, *eosq. tuq.* Oxf., *eos tu quae* AC, *eosque tu* EOUT, *eos tuque* PB. *albis* PVM Oxf., *aluis* A, *alius* CEB, *ab his* BLO. 6 *et*, *etiam* Ba. 8 *credis esse* V Oxf. Asc., *credidisese* A, *credissesse* B^1, *credidisses* B^2, *credidisse* CPUTBHLO, *credisse* E. 14 *ab Aulo* GHMC Asc., *ab Aulio* V, *aulo* XBIO Oxf., *A* R, *paulo* H and I of Moser, *ab A.* edd. 15 *Vatinio* AB^{1}CV Oxf. B, *Vatieno* PC, *vaticinio* E. 16 *Sagra* Oxf. Asc. M, *sacra* ACEPVBO, *sacris* B. 17 *Sagram* BM Oxf. [ABEV], *sacram* CPO. 19 *requiro* BV^{2}O Oxf. Asc. Mu. Sch., om. ACEV^{1}B Ba. Or. Forch. p. 27. 20 *sequuntur* V^2 Oxf. [Mus. CP], *secuntur* BV^{1}L Or., *recuntur* corr. in *reguntur* A, *percunctor eorum* E. 22 *scire quod futurum est* P.

sortes? Quibus ego credo, nec possum Atti Navii, quem com-
memorabas, lituum contemnere; sed qui ista intellecta sint, a
philosophis debeo discere, praesertim cum plurimis de rebus
15 divini isti mentiantur. At medici quoque (ita enim dicebas)
saepe falluntur. Quid simile medicina, cujus ego rationem
video, et divinatio, quae unde oriatur, non intellego? Tu autem
etiam Deciorum devotionibus placatos deos esse censes. Quae
fuit eorum tanta iniquitas, ut placari populo Romano non
possent, nisi viri tales occidissent? Consilium illud impera-
torium fuit, quod Graeci *στρατήγημα* appellant, sed eorum
imperatorum, qui patriae consulerent, vitae non parcerent; re-
bantur enim fore ut exercitus imperatorem equo incitato se in
hostem immittentem persequeretur, id quod evenit. Nam
Fauni vocem equidem numquam audivi; tibi, si audivisse te
dicis, credam, etsi Faunus omnino quid sit nescio.

VII. Non igitur adhuc, quantum quidem in te est, Balbe,
intellego deos esse; quos equidem credo esse, sed nihil docent
16 Stoici. Nam Cleanthes, ut dicebas, quattuor modis formatas in
animis hominum putat deorum esse notiones. Unus is modus
est, de quo satis dixi, qui est susceptus ex praesensione rerum
futurarum, alter ex perturbationibus tempestatum et reliquis
motibus, tertius ex commoditate rerum, quas percipimus, et
copia, quartus ex astrorum ordine caelique constantia. De
praesensione diximus. De perturbationibus caelestibus et mari-
timis et terrenis non possumus dicere, cum ea fiant, non esse
multos, qui illa metuant et a dis immortalibus fieri existiment;
17 sed non id quaeritur, sintne aliqui, qui deos esse putent, di
utrum sint necne sint, quaeritur. Nam reliquae causae, quas
Cleanthes affert, quarum una est de commodorum, quae capimus,
copia, altera de temporum ordine caelique constantia, tum

1 *Atti Navii* C^{2}V^1, *Atti navi* ABC^{1}EV^2**B**, *Attinavi* Oxf. *commemorabas* Oxf. **M**[V^{2}BP] Asc., *commorabas* ACEV^1**B**. 2 *intellecta* MSS generally, *intellegenda* Oxf.+. *sint* [P]**M**, *sunt* ABCEV**B**+, om. Oxf. 4 *divini* **GHI** Moser's M edd. after Walker, *divinis* X Oxf.+. *mentiantur* **C**, *mentiuntur* MSS generally. *at*, *ad* A^{1}V^1. 8 *placari* BEPV^2 Oxf. **OM**, *placeri* AV^1, *placere* C**B**. 9 *imperatorium* [X]**B**, *imperatorum* **IMRV** Oxf. 10 *στρατήγημα* Hervag., Lat. MSS. 12 *equo*, *aequo* AV. 14 *audivi tibi si* [ACV]**BM** Oxf., *audivi tu si* **THO**, *audivit Quam si* B (*Q* in ras. *uā* superscr.), *audivi Bis se* E, *audivit tu si* P.

tractabuntur a nobis, cum disputabimus de providentia deorum,
de qua plurima a te, Balbe, dicta sunt; eodemque illa etiam 18
differemus, quod Chrysippum dicere aiebas, quoniam esset aliquid in rerum natura, quod ab homine effici non posset, esse aliquid homine melius, quaeque in domo pulchra cum pulchritudine mundi comparabas, et cum totius mundi convenientiam consensumque afferebas, Zenonisque breves et acutulas conclusiones in eam partem sermonis, quam modo dixi, differemus, eodemque tempore illa omnia, quae a te physice dicta sunt de vi ignea deque eo calore, ex quo omnia generari dicebas, loco suo quaerentur, omniaque, quae a te nudius tertius dicta sunt, cum docere velles deos esse, quare et mundus universus et sol et luna et stellae sensum ac mentem haberent, in idem tempus
reservabo. A te autem idem illud etiam atque etiam quaeram, 19
quibus rationibus tibi persuadeas deos esse. VIII. Tum Balbus: Equidem attulisse rationes mihi videor, sed eas tu ita refellis, ut, cum me interrogaturus esse videare et ego me ad respondendum compararim, repente avertas orationem nec des respondendi locum. Itaque maximae res tacitae praeterierunt, de divinatione, de fato, quibus de quaestionibus tu quidem strictim, nostri autem multa solent dicere, sed ab hac ea quaestione, quae nunc in manibus est, separantur. Quare, si videtur, noli agere confuse, ut hoc explicemus hac disputatione, quod quaeritur.

Optime, inquit Cotta. Itaque quoniam quattuor in partes 20
totam quaestionem divisisti de primaque diximus, consideremus secundam; quae mihi talis videtur fuisse, ut, cum ostendere velles, quales di essent, ostenderes nullos esse. A consuetudine enim oculorum animum abducere difficillimum dicebas, sed, cum deo nihil praestantius esset, non dubitabas, quin mundus esset deus, quo nihil in rerum natura melius esset. Modo possemus eum animantem cogitare vel potius, ut cetera oculis, sic
animo hoc cernere! Sed cum mundo negas quicquam esse 21

11 *omniaque quae a te* BV[2] Oxf., *omnia quaeque a te* CB, *omnia quae a te* APV[1] (with *d* erased after *a* in AV), *omnia que a te* E (cf. below § 47). 19 *tacitae*, *tacite* ACB Asc. 23 *ut* MSS generally, *et* Madv. 28 *velles* BPV[2] Oxf. Asc., *velis* ACEV[1]BH. See above § 9. 29 *enim* VM Oxf., om. ABCEPUBO. 31 *quo* X, *quod* Oxf. R Allen.

melius, quid dicis melius? Si pulchrius, assentior; si aptius ad
utilitates nostras, id quoque assentior; sin autem id dicis, nihil
esse mundo sapientius, nullo modo prorsus assentior, non quod
difficile sit mentem ab oculis sevocare, sed quo magis sevoco, eo
minus id, quod tu vis, possum mente comprehendere. IX. Nihil
est mundo melius in rerum natura. Ne in terris quidem
urbe nostra; num igitur idcirco in urbe esse rationem, cogita-
tionem, mentem putas? aut, quoniam non sit, num idcirco
existimas formicam anteponendam esse huic pulcherrimae urbi,
quod in urbe sensus sit nullus, in formica non modo sensus, sed
etiam mens, ratio, memoria? Videre oportet, Balbe, quid tibi
22 concedatur, non te ipsum, quod velis, sumere. Istum enim
locum totum illa vetus Zenonis brevis et, ut tibi videbatur,
acuta conclusio dilata*tum a recentioribus coarta*vit. Zeno enim
ita concludit: 'Quod ratione utitur, id melius est quam id,
quod ratione non utitur; nihil autem mundo melius; ratione
23 igitur mundus utitur.' Hoc si placet, jam efficies, ut mundus
optime librum legere videatur. Zenonis enim vestigiis hoc
modo rationem poteris concludere: 'Quod litteratum est, id est
melius, quam quod non est litteratum; nihil autem mundo
melius; litteratus igitur est mundus.' Isto modo etiam disertus
et quidem mathematicus, musicus, omni denique doctrina eru-
ditus, postremo philosophus erit mundus. Saepe dixti nihil
fieri *nisi ex eo*, nec *illam* vim esse naturae, ut sui dissimilia
posset effingere; concedam non modo animantem et sapientem
esse mundum, sed fidicinem etiam et tubicinem, quoniam earum

1 *quid dicis melius* A^2V^2[BCE], *quid dices m.* **HTP**, om. V^1 Oxf. **MNCR**. 2 *id quoque* A^2 (in ras.) [BCEV^2] **L** Oxf., *ut quoque* PV^1. 3 *quod difficile* B^2 and MSS generally, *quo difficile* B^1 Ba. (Mu. compares *Div.* II 150 *non quod eos maxime contemnamus, sed quod videntur, Tusc.* II 56 *non quod doleant, sed quia ...corpus contenditur*). 12 *velis* [BCEPV^2], *vellis* AV^1. 14 *dilatatum a recentioribus coartavit* Ed., *dilatavit* A^1V^2 MSS generally, *dilatalavit* A^2, *dilata lavit* V^1, *dilatabit* Sch. 22 *et quidem* MSS, *atque idem* Ba. Sch. after Orelli. 23 *philosop* V^1, *filoso* A^1, *philosophus* A^2V^2. *erit mundus* V marg. ead. m. **MNCRV** Oxf. Mu., om. XG**BHILO** Ba., in brackets Or. Sch. *dixti* C Ursinus, *dixi* MSS generally, *dixisti* **CG** Red. 24 *nisi ex eo* Heind. Madv. (*Adv.* II 243) Mu. Sch. in App., *sine deo* MSS generally Or. Sch. Ba. *illam* Walker Heind. Mu. Sch. in App., *ullam* MSS Or. Ba. 26 *fidicinem* MSS generally, *fidicineam* A, *fidicianem* V^1, *fiduciorem* Oxf., *fidicinam* **C**. *tubicinem* ABCV Oxf. **B**, *tibicinem* **HIRV**EP, cf. II 22.

quoque artium homines ex eo procreantur? Nihil igitur affert
pater iste Stoicorum, quare mundum ratione uti putemus, ne
cur animantem quidem esse. Non est igitur mundus deus, et
tamen nihil est eo melius; nihil est enim eo pulchrius, nihil
salutarius nobis, nihil ornatius aspectu motuque constantius.
Quodsi mundus universus non est deus, ne stellae quidem, quas
tu innumerabiles in deorum numero reponebas, quarum te
cursus aequabiles aeternique delectabant, nec mehercule injuria;
sunt enim admirabili incredibilique constantia. Sed non omnia, 24
Balbe, quae cursus certos et constantes habent, ea deo potius
tribuenda sunt quam naturae. X. Quid Chalcidico Euripo in
motu identidem reciprocando putas fieri posse constantius? quid
freto Siciliensi? quid Oceani fervore illis in locis,

Europam Libyamque rapax ubi dividit unda?

Quid? aestus maritimi vel Hispanienses vel Britannici eorumque
certis temporibus vel accessus vel recessus sine deo fieri non
possunt? Vide, quaeso, si omnes motus omniaque, quae certis
temporibus ordinem suum conservant, divina dicimus, ne terti-
anas *quoque* febres et quartanas divinas esse dicendum sit,
quarum reversione et motu quid potest esse constantius? Sed
omnium talium rerum ratio reddenda est. Quod vos cum facere 25
non potestis, tamquam in aram confugitis ad deum.

Et Chrysippus tibi acute dicere videbatur, homo sine dubio versutus et callidus (versutos eos appello, quorum celeriter mens versatur, callidos autem, quorum, tamquam manus opere, sic animus usu concalluit); is igitur, 'Si aliquid est,' inquit, 'quod homo efficere non possit, qui id efficit, melior est homine; homo autem haec, quae in mundo sunt, efficere non potest; qui potuit

2 *ne cur* edd. after Lamb., *nec cur* MSS. 8 *delectant* Cobet p. 463. 10 *habent* [ABCEP]**BO**, *habent vel servant* V^2 Oxf. U**CMV**, *habent vel conservant* **N**, om. V^1. 13 *Siciliensi* MSS generally, *siilicensi* AV^1, *sicilicense* V^2. *fervore* corr. ex *ferbore* AV. 16 *non* B^1**C**, *nonne* AB^{2}CEPV**B** Oxf. +, *minime* **N**. 17 *quae* om. CE**BC**. 19 *quoque* edd. after Lamb., *quidem* MSS, *item* Muretus. 22 *aram* [BCE]**BO**, *aramā* A, *aranam* V^1, *arenam* V^2 Oxf. **MC**, *aram aut* P, *harenam* **RV**, *harena* **N**. *confugitis* **HILNCRO**^{2}, *confugistis* **XBMV** Oxf. (cf. I 53), *fugitis* O^1. 25 *quorum—concalluit* cited in Nonius p. 90, Grammat. de gen. nom. n. 58. 27 *qui id* [BCE]A^2, *quid* A^{1}P**BHO**, *quicquid id* V in ras. U**MCR** Oxf.

igitur, is praestat homini; homini autem praestare quis possit nisi deus? est igitur deus.' Haec omnia in eodem, quo illa
26 Zenonis, errore versantur. Quid enim sit melius, quid praestabilius, quid inter naturam et rationem intersit, non distinguitur. Idemque, si di non sint, negat esse in omni natura quicquam homine melius; id autem putare quemquam hominem, nihil homine esse melius, summae arrogantiae censet esse. Sit sane arrogantis pluris se putare quam mundum; at illud non modo non arrogantis, sed potius prudentis, intellegere se habere sensum et rationem, haec eadem Orionem et Caniculam non habere. Et: 'Si domus pulchra sit, intellegamus eam dominis,' inquit, 'aedificatam esse, non muribus; sic igitur mundum deorum domum existimare debemus.' Ita prorsus existimarem, si illum aedificatum, non (quem ad modum docebo) a natura conformatum putarem.

27 XI. At enim quaerit apud Xenophontem Socrates, unde animum arripuerimus, si nullus fuerit in mundo. Et ego quaero, unde orationem, unde numeros, unde cantus; nisi vero loqui solem cum luna putamus, cum propius accesserit, aut ad harmoniam canere mundum, ut Pythagoras existimat. Naturae ista sunt, Balbe, naturae non artificiose ambulantis, ut ait Zeno, (quod quidem quale sit, jam videbimus) sed omnia cientis et
28 agitantis motibus et mutationibus suis. Itaque illa mihi placebat oratio de convenientia consensuque naturae, quam quasi cognatione continuatam conspirare dicebas. Illud non probabam, quod negabas id accidere potuisse, nisi ea uno divino spiritu contineretur. Illa vero cohaeret et permanet naturae

1 *homini. homini* [ACEP]V^2, *homini homine* BBC, *hominis hominis* V^1, *homines hominem* Oxf. U. 5 *idemque* A (post ras.) EV^2 Oxf. M, *eidemque* $BCPV^1$BO. 6 *nihil homine esse melius* in brackets Or. Ba. after Dav. 10 *Orionem* BG, om. Oxf., *orõem* H, *orationem* other MSS. 11 *inquis* Forch. p. 44. 14 *aedificatum* ACEPV Oxf. + Or. Ba., *aedificatum esse* BHL Mu. Sch. *a* Oxf. M[ABV], om. CEPBO. *conformatum* [P] Hervag., *confirmatum* ABCEV Oxf. BHCV +. 17 *animum* [PV]O, *animam* ABCEMRVB Oxf. *nullus* [X], *nulla* BV. 20 *naturae ista* [CEPV] Oxf., *naturae ste* A, *natura istae* B. 22 *cientis* [B]C, *scientis* MSS generally. 25 *cognatione continuatam* MSS generally Allen, *cognatione continuata* E Sch. Mu. Dav., *cognationem continuatam* R Or. Ba. Heind. after Lamb. *non probabam* MSS generally, *non probem* V^2MC Oxf. Asc., *inprobam* V^1, *non probe* V, *probabam* B. 27 *contineretur*

viribus, non deorum, estque in ea iste quasi consensus, quam *συμπάθειαν* Graeci vocant; sed ea, quo sua sponte major est, eo minus divina ratione fieri existimanda est.

XII. Illa autem, quae Carneades afferebat, quem ad modum 29
dissolvitis? si nullum corpus immortale sit, nullum esse corpus sempiternum; corpus autem immortale nullum esse, ne individuum quidem, nec quod dirimi distrahive non possit. Ergo itidem, si omne animal secari ac dividi potest, nullum est eorum individuum, nullum aeternum. Cumque omne animal patibilem naturam habeat, nullum est eorum, quod effugiat accipiendi aliquid extrinsecus, id est quasi ferendi et patiendi, necessitatem, et, si omne animal tale est, immortale nullum est; atqui omne animal ad accipiendam vim externam et ferendam paratum est; mortale igitur omne animal et dissolubile et dividuum sit
necesse est. Ut enim, si omnis cera commutabilis esset, nihil 30
esset cereum, quod commutari non posset, item nihil argenteum, nihil aeneum, si commutabilis esset natura argenti et aeris: similiter igitur, si *ea*, e quibus constant omnia quae sunt, mutabilia sunt, nullum corpus esse potest non mutabile; mutabilia autem sunt illa, ex quibus omnia constant, ut vobis videtur; omne igitur corpus mutabile est. At si esset corpus aliquod immortale, non esset omne mutabile; ita efficitur, ut omne corpus mortale sit. Etenim omne corpus aut aqua aut aër aut ignis aut terra est aut id, quod est concretum ex his aut ex aliqua parte eorum; horum autem nihil est, quin intereat.

XB Oxf.+, *continerentur* TMRV Heind. Ba. *cohaeret—permanet* MSS generally, *cohaerent—permanent* Red. Heind. Ba.

2 *συμπάθειαν* Edd., *sympathiam* PR, *synpathiam* ACB, *simpatiam* B Oxf. V, *synpatiam* EV. 4 *illa* MSS generally, *illam* A[1]V. 5 *esse corpus* MSS, *esse animal* Ba. after Madv. 7 *ergo—aeternum* after *immortale nullum est* (12) in all MSS and edd., *ergo* is bracketed by Or. Ba. 12 *omne animal—itidem si* (8) om. V[1] Oxf. MCR. *tale* Heind., om. HG, *mortale* MSS generally. 13 *ferendam* Oxf. MCRVA[2]V[2] Sch., *fruendam* A[1]BCEPV[1], *ferundam* Or. Ba. Mu. (but all give *ferendi* in 11). 18 *si ea e quibus constant omnia quae sunt* Ed., *si omnia quae sunt e quibus cuncta constant* MSS (Mu. brackets *quae sunt*, Sch. would do the same or read *si omnia e quibus quae sunt cuncta constant* with Heind.), *si ea e quibus cuncta constant* Ba., *si omnia e quibus cuncta quae sunt constant* Dav., *si ea ex quibus omnia constant* Kayser. 24 *his* BEP Sch. Mu., *iis* A[1]CVB Or. Ba.

31 Nam et terrenum omne dividitur, et umor ita mollis est, ut
facile premi collidique possit; ignis vero et aër omni pulsu
facillime pellitur naturaque cedens est maxime et dissipabilis.
Praetereaque omnia haec tum intereunt, cum in naturam aliam
convertuntur, quod fit, cum terra in aquam se vertit, et cum ex
aqua oritur aër, ex aëre aether, cumque eadem vicissim retro
commeant. Quodsi ea intereunt, e quibus constat omne animal,
32 nullum est animal sempiternum. XIII. Et ut haec omit-
tamus, tamen animal nullum inveniri potest, quod neque natum
umquam sit et semper sit futurum. Omne enim animal sensus
habet; sentit igitur et calida et frigida et dulcia et amara, nec
potest ullo sensu jucunda accipere, non accipere contraria; si
igitur voluptatis sensum capit, doloris etiam capit; quod autem
dolorem accipit, id accipiat etiam interitum necesse est; omne
33 igitur animal confitendum est esse mortale. Praeterea, si quid
est, quod nec voluptatem sentiat nec dolorem, id animal esse
non potest; sin autem, quod animal est, id illa necesse est
sentiat, et, quod ea sentit, non potest esse aeternum, et omne
animal sentit; nullum igitur animal aeternum est. Praeterea
nullum potest esse animal, in quo non et appetitio sit et decli-
natio naturalis; appetuntur autem, quae secundum naturam
sunt, declinantur contraria; et omne animal appetit quaedam
et fugit a quibusdam; quod autem refugit, id contra naturam
est; et, quod est contra naturam, id habet vim interimendi;
34 omne ergo animal intereat necesse est. Innumerabilia sunt, ex
quibus effici cogique possit nihil esse, quod sensum habeat, quin
id intereat; etenim ea ipsa, quae sentiuntur, ut frigus, ut calor,

1 *mollis est* CEV^2 (*llis est* om. V^1) Oxf. **B**, *molle est* A^{2}B^{2}P**O**, *mollest* A^1, *molest* B^1 (see Introduction on MSS). 2 *premi* EPV Oxf. **HCV**, *prami* A^1, *praemi* A^{2}BC**BMN**, *comprimi* **ILO**. *pulsu* MSS generally, *impulsu* **ILOV** Sch. 4 *praetereaque* ABCPV Oxf. **BT**, *praeterea* E+. 6 *ex aere* ABEPV Oxf. **O**, *et ex aere* C, *et exaer* **B**, *et cum ex aere* **M** Asc. Sch. 7 *intereunt—constat* **HILNO**G Red. edd. after Heind., *intereant—constet* X **BMCRV** Oxf. 17 *quod animal* MSS Or. Ba. Sch., *quid animal* Heind. Mu. 18 *et quod ea sentit* Or. Ba. Mu., om. C**BO**, *et quod ea sentiat* Sch. Oxf. and MSS generally (judging from the older edd. Orelli says nothing as to his ABEPV). 27 *ut frigus ut calor ut voluptas ut dolor ut cetera* A^{2}BC (*ut voluptas ut dolor* superscr. in B) and (omitting *ut* before *voluptas*) A^{1}V Oxf., *ut frigus et calor ut voluptas et dolor ut cetera* E, *ut frigus ut calor voluptas ut cetera* P.

ut voluptas, ut dolor, ut cetera, cum amplificata sunt, interimunt; nec ullum animal est sine sensu; nullum igitur animal aeternum est. XIV. Etenim aut simplex est natura animantis, ut vel terrena sit vel ignea vel animalis vel umida (quod quale sit, ne intellegi quidem potest), aut concretum ex pluribus naturis, quarum suum quaeque locum habeat, quo naturae vi feratur, alia infimum, alia summum, alia medium. Haec ad quoddam tempus cohaerere possunt, semper autem nullo modo possunt; necesse est enim in suum quaeque locum natura rapiatur. Nullum igitur animal est sempiternum.

Sed omnia vestri, Balbe, solent ad igneam vim referre, 35
Heraclitum, ut opinor, sequentes, quem ipsum non omnes interpretantur uno modo; qui quoniam quid diceret intellegi noluit, omittamus; vos autem ita dicitis, omnem vim esse ignem, itaque et animantes, cum calor defecerit, tum interire, et in omni natura rerum id vivere, id vigere, quod caleat. Ego autem non intellego, quo modo calore exstincto corpora intereant, non intereant umore aut spiritu amisso, praesertim cum intereant etiam nimio calore. Quam ob rem id quidem commune est de 36
calido; verum tamen videamus exitum. Ita vultis, opinor, nihil esse animal*e* extrinsecus in natura atque mundo praeter ignem. Qui magis quam praeter animam, unde animantium quoque constet animus, ex quo anima*l* dicitur? Quo modo autem hoc, quasi concedatur, sumitis, nihil esse animum nisi ignem? probabilius enim videtur tale quiddam esse animum, ut sit ex igni atque anima temperatum. Quodsi ignis ex sese ipse animal est nulla se alia admiscente natura, quoniam is, cum

1 *interimunt* [ABCV]**B**, *interimant* **MCR** Oxf., *intereunt* EPT**O**. 3 *aut* A in ras. **B**[BCE], *ut* PV Oxf. **R**. 5 *concretum* MSS generally Or., *concreta est* G**R** Heind., *concreta* Ba. Mu. after Dav., *concretum est* Sch. 7 *feratur* edd. after Lamb., *efferatur* MSS generally. 12 *non omnes—modo* MSS, in brackets Ba. (perhaps rightly), *non enim omnes—modo* Vahlen. 13 *qui* V (doubtful) GU**M** Oxf. Asc., om. ABCEP**BH** Ba. *diceret intellegi* Oxf. **M**, *diceret quod intellegi* X**BO** (*quod* erased in V). 14 *ignem* MSS generally, *igneam* **L** Heind. Or. 21 *nihil*, *nullum* Red. *animale* Lamb. Or. Ba., *animal* Sch. Mu. MSS, exc. *animali* UT**LO**, *animum* Walker. *extrinsecus* MSS, *intrinsecus* Or. Mu. Ba. Sch. after Bouh., *et sentiens* Wytt. 23 *animal* edd. after Lescalop., *anima* MSS generally, *omnia* E. 24 *hoc*, by corr. fr. *ho* AV. 27 *animal* by corr. fr. *anima* B.

inest in corporibus nostris, efficit, ut sentiamus, non potest ipse esse sine sensu. Rursus eadem dici possunt: quicquid est enim, quod sensum habeat, id necesse est sentiat et voluptatem et dolorem; ad quem autem dolor veniat, ad eundem etiam interitum venire. Ita fit, ut ne ignem quidem efficere possitis
37 aeternum. Quid enim? non isdem vobis placet omnem ignem pastus indigere nec permanere ullo modo posse, nisi alatur? ali autem solem, lunam, reliqua astra aquis, alia dulcibus, alia marinis? Eamque causam Cleanthes affert,

> cur se sol referat nec longius progrediatur
> solstitiali orbi

itemque brumali, ne longius discedat a cibo. Hoc totum quale sit, mox; nunc autem concludatur illud: quod interire possit, id aeternum non esse natura; ignem autem interiturum esse, nisi alatur; non esse igitur natura ignem sempiternum.

38 XV. Qualem autem deum intellegere nos possumus nulla virtute praeditum? Quid enim? prudentiamne deo tribuemus, quae constat ex scientia rerum bonarum et malarum et nec bonarum nec malarum? Cui mali nihil est nec esse potest, quid huic opus est dilectu bonorum et malorum? quid autem ratione? quid intellegentia? quibus utimur ad eam rem, ut apertis obscura assequamur; at obscurum deo nihil potest esse. Nam justitia, quae suum cuique distribuit, quid pertinet ad deos? hominum enim societas et communitas, ut vos dicitis, justitiam procreavit. Temperantia autem constat ex praetermittendis voluptatibus corporis, cui si locus in caelo est, est etiam voluptatibus. Nam fortis deus intellegi qui potest? in dolore? an in labore? an in periculo? quorum deum nihil
39 attingit. Nec ratione igitur utentem nec virtute ulla praeditum deum intellegere qui possumus?

Nec vero vulgi atque imperitorum inscitiam despicere pos-

11 *solstitiali* [BCEPV²] Oxf., *solistitiali* AV¹ (Orelli gives instances of same form in other ancient MSS), *solisticiali* **B**. *orbi* ACPV Oxf. **B**, *orbe* BE**HNV** Sch. 16 *nos* [ABCEP], *non* V Oxf. **HMNR**, om. **CO**. 19 *nihil est nec esse*, *nihil esse nec esse* V**O**, *nihil esse necesse* Oxf. **M**. 20 *dilectu* ABEP**B** Oxf. +, *delectu* CV +. 23 *distribuit* MSS generally Or. Sch. Mu., *tribuit* E Ba. 27 *intellegi qui* corr. fr. *intellequi* A, om. *qui* **CBC**. 31 *inscitiam* corr. fr. *inscitam* AV.

sum, cum ea considero, quae dicuntur a Stoicis. Sunt enim illa imperitorum: piscem Syri venerantur; omne fere genus bestiarum Aegyptii consecraverunt; jam vero in Graecia multos habent ex hominibus deos, Alabandum Alabandis, Tenedii Tennem, Leucotheam, quae fuit Ino, et ejus Palaemonem filium cuncta Graecia; Herculem, Aesculapium, Tyndaridas, Romulum nostri aliosque complures, quos quasi novos et ascripticios cives in caelum receptos putant. XVI. Haec igitur indocti; quid 40
vos philosophi? qui meliora? (Omitto illa; sunt enim praeclara: sit sane deus ipse mundus. Hoc credo illud esse

sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.

Quare igitur plures adjungimus deos? quanta autem est eorum multitudo! [Mihi quidem sane multi videntur.] Singulas enim stellas numeras deos eosque aut beluarum nomine appellas, ut Capram, ut *Nepam*, ut Taurum, ut Leonem, aut rerum inanimarum, ut Argo, ut Aram, ut Coronam.) Sed ut haec con- 41
cedantur, reliqua qui tandem non modo concedi, sed omnino intellegi possunt? Cum fruges Cererem, vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato, sed ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, deum credat esse? Nam quos ab hominibus pervenisse dicis ad deos, tu reddes rationem, quem ad modum id fieri potuerit aut cur fieri desierit, et ego discam libenter. Quo modo nunc quidem est, non video, quo pacto ille, cui 'in monte Oetaeo illatae

4 *Alabandis* (Ἀλαβανδε῀ς) Bouh. (as G in § 50), *Alabandi* MSS, *Alabandei* Heind. see Comm. *Tenedii* Marsus, *Tenedi* MSS, except *tenendi* A²HILN. *Tennem* E Oxf.+, *Tennen* AB²PV, *Tenen* B¹CBL. 5 *Leucotheam* BV¹, *Leuchotheam* ACE V²B, *leuchoteam* Oxf. 6 *Asclepium* C¹, also in §§ 45, 57, 83. 7 *nostri* MG Asc., *nostrum* XB Oxf. Forch. p. 52. *quos, nostri* Forch. ib. 8 *quid vos philosophi, qui philosophi duos* P. 11 *sublime* MSS, *sublimen* Or. Ba. after Ritschl, see above § 10. 13 *mihi—videntur*, see Comm. 14 *numeras—appellas, numeratis—appellatis* HGU, *numeramus—appellamus* Halm. *eosque, easque* PUTNV. 15 *Nepam* Ursinus, *lupam* MSS generally, *lupum* G Red.+. *inanimarum* AB¹V¹, *inanimatarum* B²V²E Oxf. HLM+, *animarum* CB. 19 *ecquem* edd. after Lamb., *haecquem* X (except *hecquem* E) BM Oxf., *eccum quem* C, *dic quem* R, *hic quem* V, see on I 80. 22 *reddes* XBHL, *redde* V² Oxf., *reddas* Sch. *id* [BEPV¹]O, *idem* ACV² Oxf. B+. 24 *Oetaeo illatae* CBM, *moetaeo ill.* AEPV, *metaeo ill.* B, *metaoemlate* Oxf. (Perhaps the archetype may have had *in montem Oetaeum.*)

lampades' fuerunt, ut ait Accius, 'in domum aeternam patris' ex illo ardore pervenerit; quem tamen Homerus apud inferos conveniri facit ab Ulixe, sicut ceteros, qui excesserant
42 vita. Quamquam, quem potissimum Herculem colamus, scire sane velim; plures enim tradunt nobis ii, qui interiores scrutantur et reconditas litteras: antiquissimum Jove natum, sed item Jove antiquissimo; (nam Joves quoque plures in priscis Graecorum litteris invenimus); ex eo igitur et Lysithoë est is Hercules, quem concertavisse cum Apolline de tripode accepimus. Alter traditur Nilo natus Aegyptius, quem aiunt Phrygias litteras conscripsisse. Tertius est ex Idaeis Digitis, cui inferias afferunt Coi. Quartus Jovis est *et* Asteriae, Latonae sororis, qui Tyri maxime colitur, cujus Karthaginem filiam ferunt. Quintus in India, qui Belus dicitur. Sextus hic ex Alcmena, quem Juppiter genuit, sed tertius Juppiter, quoniam, ut jam docebo, plures Joves etiam accepimus.

53 XXI. Dicamus igitur, Balbe, oportet contra illos etiam, qui hos deos ex hominum genere in caelum translatos non re, sed opinione esse dicunt, quos auguste omnes sancteque veneramur. Principio Joves tres numerant ii, qui theologi nominantur, ex quibus primum et secundum natos in Arcadia, alterum patre Aethere, ex quo etiam Proserpinam natam ferunt et Liberum, alterum patre Caelo, qui genuisse Minervam dicitur, quam principem et inventricem belli ferunt, tertium Cretensem, Saturni filium, cujus in illa insula sepulcrum ostenditur. Διόσκουροι etiam apud Graios multis modis nominantur: primi tres, qui

1 *fuerint* BCEV Oxf. **BM** Sch. Mu., *fuerunt* A**O** Or. Ba. (printed as part of quotation by edd. I have followed Ribbeck). *aeternam* MSS generally, *aetheriam* A. 4 *vita quamquam* [BCEV]**BO** (and with *ta* in ras.) A, *vix aquam quam* P, *vix aliquem* **H**, *juxta aquam* **N**. 8 *Lysithoë* edd. after Creuzer, *lysitho* B, *lysito* ACPV**B**, *lisito* E Oxf. **LM**+. 9 *Hercules* Oxf. [BCPV²], *Herculis* AV¹. 12 *Coi. Quartus* Jac. Gronov. Ba. prob. Mu., *cui quartus* X Oxf. **BH**+, *quartus* **MCRV** Or. Sch., *Cretes. Quartus* Dav. *et Asteriae* **CO** edd. after Heind., *asteriae* MSS generally. 13 *Karthaginem* [BP] Oxf. **H**, *Carthaginem* A, *Cartaginem* CV**B**+, *Kartaginem* E (below § 91 *Karthag.* [CP], *Carthag.* ABV, *Kartag.* E). 16 *accepimus* [CE]V² Oxf., *accipimus* ABPV¹ (cf. § 47). 17 *dicamus* § 53—*revertamur* § 60 transposed by Ed. see Comm. 18 *hos* MSS, *eos* Or. Ba. 20 *ii* [ACEV], *hi* BP. 25 *Διόσκουροι*, *Dioscuroe* **R**, *diescoure* **O**, *dioscorce* AV²**M**, *dioscorte* CEV¹**B** Oxf., *dioscoree* B¹ (*-ae* B²), *dioscoride* V marg., *dioscoridae* P**HLV**.

appellantur Anactes Athenis, ex rege Jove antiquissimo et
Proserpina nati, Tritopatreus, Eubuleus, Dionysus; secundi Jove
tertio nati et Leda, Castor et Pollux; tertii dicuntur a non
nullis Alco, Melampus, Eviolus. Atrei filii, qui Pelope natus
fuit. Jam Musae primae quattuor Jove altero natae et..., 54
Thelxinoë, Aoede, Arche, Melete; secundae Jove tertio et Mne-
mosyne procreatae novem; tertiae Piero natae et Antiopa, quas
Pieridas et Pierias solent poëtae appellare, isdem nominibus et
eodem numero, quo proximae superiores. Cumque tu Solem,
quia solus esset, appellatum esse dicas, Soles ipsi quam multi a
theologis proferuntur! Unus eorum Jove natus, nepos Aetheris,
alter Hyperione, tertius Vulcano, Nili filio, cujus urbem Ae-
gyptii volunt esse eam, quae Heliopolis appellatur, quartus is,
†quem heroicis temporibus Acanto Rhodi peperisse dicitur,
Ialysi, Camiritinde Rhodi.† quintus, qui Colchis fertur Aeetam
et Circam procreavisse. XXII. Vulcani item complures, primus 55
Caelo natus, ex quo et Minerva Apollinem eum, cujus in tutela

1 *Anactes* MSS generally, ἄνακες Swainson, *Anaces* Sch. Mu. after Victorius. 2 *Tritopatreus* Oxf. **MRV**, *trito patreus* X **B**, *Tritopatores, Zagreus* Hemsterhuis, *Tritopatores, Triptolemus* Rinck. *Eubuleus* Oxf. [ABCEP], *eubulaeus* V. *Dionysus* edd. after Dav., *dionysius* MSS (with *i* or *y*). *secundi, secundi duo* **C** Reg. Sch. Swainson with Dav. and Heind. 4 *Alco et Melampus* edd. and MSS generally, om. *et* A. *Eviolus* CPV**MR**, *oviolus* A, *oivolos* B by corr., *evio lis* Oxf., *emolus* E**BILV**, *et Emolus* **C**, *et Tmolus* edd. after Dav. 5 *Jove altero natae et...Thelxinoe Aoede* Ed., *natae Jove altero nata Aethei xinoneoede* A, *n. J. a. n. et theixinoneoede* B (ex corr.) V**M**, *n. J. a. n. et teximus eo ede* Oxf., *n. J. a. et theixi ñeoe de* P, *nate J. a. nate et thei xinone cede* C**B**E (except that E has, after 2nd *nate, ethei xinoneoe de*), *natae J. a. Thelxinoe Aoede* Heind., *n. J. a. et Neda Thelx. Aoede* Creuzer, *n. J. a. et...Thelx. Aoede.* Klotz, *J. a. natae Thelx. Aoede* Mu. Sch. Or. Ba. 6 *Mnemosyne* [BP], *nemosine* E Oxf. **BMR**+, *nemo sine* A (in ras.) CV. 7 *tertiae* edd. after Gronov., *tertiae Jove tertio* MSS generally. *Piero, Pierio* P**HV**. 8 *Pierias* C, *plerias* ABE**B** Oxf., *proelias* P**O**, *pleridas* V. 9 *quo* [BEP], *quos* ACV**B** Oxf. *proximae* **IM** Heind. Mu. after Mars. Victor. Lamb. &c. (see on II 53), *proxime* or *proxume* MSS Or. Ba. Sch. 10 *appellatum* [ACEP], *appellatus* BV**M** Oxf. 14 *quem* [X] Oxf., *cui* Dav. Creuz. Swainson, *qui* **LMCR**. *Acanto Rhodi, acantor hodi* ABCV, *Achanto rhodi* E, *acantii rhodi* P, see Eng. MSS and Comm. 15 *Ialysi cameritinder hodi* MSS with slight variations, *Ialysum Camirum Lindum* Victorius Hervag., *avum Ialysi Cameri et Lindi et Rhodo* Mars. and (with *Rhodi* for *et Rh.*) Thanner., *pater Ialysi Camiri et Lindi* Dav. *Aeetam, aetam* ABCPV, *oetam* E**MV**. 16 *Circam* MSS generally, *Circem* E**V**, *Circen* **R**. 17 *Apollinem eum, Apollinum is* Dav.

Athenas antiqui historici esse voluerunt, secundus Nilo natus,
Phthas, ut Aegyptii appellant, quem custodem esse Aegypti
volunt, tertius ex tertio Jove et Junone, qui Lemni fabricae
traditur praefuisse, quartus Memalio natus, qui tenuit insulas
56 propter Siciliam, quae Vulcaniae nominabantur. Mercurius
unus Caelo patre, Die matre natus, cujus obscenius excitata
natura traditur, quod aspectu Proserpinae commotus sit, alter
Valentis et Phoronidis filius, is qui sub terris habetur idem Tro-
phonius, tertius Jove tertio natus et Maia, ex quo et Penelopa
Pana natum ferunt, quartus Nilo patre. quem Aegyptii nefas
habent nominare, quintus, quem colunt Pheneatae, qui Argum
dicitur interemisse ob eamque causam Aegyptum profugisse
atque Aegyptiis leges et litteras tradidisse. Hunc Aegyptii
Theuth appellant, eodemque nomine anni primus mensis apud
57 eos vocatur. Aesculapiorum primus Apollinis, quem Arcades
colunt, qui specillum invenisse primusque vulnus dicitur obli-
gavisse, secundus secundi Mercurii frater; is fulmine percussus
dicitur humatus esse Cynosuris; tertius Arsippi et Arsinoae,
qui primus purgationem alvi dentisque evulsionem, ut ferunt,
invenit, cujus in Arcadia non longe a Lusio flumine sepulcrum
et lucus ostenditur. XXIII. Apollinum antiquissimus is, quem
paulo antea e Vulcano natum esse dixi, custodem Athenarum,
alter Corybantis filius, natus in Creta. cujus de illa insula cum
Jove ipso certamen fuisse traditur, tertius Jove tertio natus et
Latona, quem ex Hyperboreis Delphos ferunt advenisse, quartus
in Arcadia, quem Arcades Νόμιον appellant, quod ab eo se leges

1 *Athenas*, *Athenae sunt* Forch. p. 53. *Nilo* **MRV**, *in Nilo* MSS generally. 2 *Phthas* Gale (Iambl. *Myst.* VIII 3), *opas* ABPV Oxf. +, *opos* **CB**, *opis* E, *Apis* **C**. 4 *Memalio* MSS generally, see Comm. 5 *nominantur* Lamb., perhaps text may be due to dittogr. of *na*. 8 *Phoronidis* P Oxf. **HR** +, *foronidis* ABCV**B** +, *foronidos* E, *Coronidis* edd. after Dav. 9 *Maia* [CEP], *mala* ABV**B** Oxf. *Penelopa Pana natum* A^1[BCEV] Oxf., *Pen. natum* A^2**THLNO**, *Penelopam natam* P. 11 *Argum* [A^2BCE]**BO**, *argentum* A^1PV Oxf. **HM**. 12 *Aegyptum profugisse* [CE]**B**, *in Aeg. prof.* Lact. I 6, Ba., *Aegyptum profuisse* AB^1V^1, *Aegypto praefuisse* B^2PV^2**LN** +, *Aegyptum praefuisse* Oxf. **MR**. 13 *Aegyptiis* corr. ex *Aegyptis* AV. *Aegyptii* [PA^2], *Aegypti* A^1BCEV. 14 *Theuth* edd. (from Plato), *theyn* AE, *thein* B^1P**L** +, *theun* B^2, *theyr* CV**BM**, *their* **CR** Oxf. +, *Thoyth* Lact. l. c., *Theutatem* Herv. 17 *Mercurii* A^2C^2[EPV], *Mercuri* A^1BC^1. 18 *Cynosuris* [BP], *gynosuris* ACE**B** Oxf., *ginosuris* V^1**M**, *cinosuris* V^2**V**. 26 Νόμιον Huet, *nomionem* MSS generally.

ferunt accepisse. Dianae item plures, prima Jovis et Proser- 58
pinae, quae pinnatum Cupidinem genuisse dicitur, secunda
notior, quam Jove tertio et Latona natam accepimus, tertiae
pater Upis traditur, Glauce mater; eam saepe Graeci Upim
paterno nomine appellant. Dionysos multos habemus, primum
Jove et Proserpina natum, secundum Nilo, qui Nysam dicitur
interemisse, tertium Cabiro patre, eumque regem Asiae prae-
fuisse dicunt, cui Sabazia sunt instituta, quartum Jove et Luna,
cui sacra Orphica putantur confici, quintum Niso natum et
Thyone, a quo Trieterides constitutae putantur. Venus prima 59
Caelo et Die nata, cujus Eli delubrum vidimus, altera spuma
procreata, ex qua et Mercurio Cupidinem secundum natum
accepimus, tertia Jove nata et Diona, quae nupsit Vulcano, sed
ex ea et Marte natus Anteros dicitur, quarta Syria Cyproque
concepta, quae Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupsisse proditum
est. Minerva prima, quam Apollinis matrem supra diximus,
secunda orta Nilo, quam Aegyptii Saïtae colunt, tertia illa,
quam a Jove generatam supra diximus, quarta Jove nata et
Coryphe, Oceani filia, quam Arcades Κορίαν nominant et
quadrigarum inventricem ferunt, quinta Pallantis, quae patrem
dicitur interemisse virginitatem suam violare conantem, cui
pinnarum talaria affigunt. Cupido primus Mercurio et Diana 60
prima natus dicitur, secundus Mercurio et Venere secunda,
tertius, qui idem est Anteros, Marte et Venere tertia. Atque
haec quidem *alia*que ejus modi ex vetere Graeciae fama collecta
sunt, quibus intellegis resistendum esse, ne perturbentur reli-
giones. Vestri autem non modo haec non refellunt, verum

1 *accepisse*, *accipisse* BE. 3 *tertiae pater—natum accepimus* § 59, om. CB. *tertiae pater*, *tertia e patre* E, *tertia patre* B². 4 *saepe Graeci*, *Graeci saepe* UT Sch. 6 *Nysam*, see Comm. 7 *Cabiro* Jac. Gronov., *caprio* ABEP**CV** Oxf., *capryo* V. 8 *cui Sabazia* Manut., *cujus abazea* AE**MR** Oxf. +, *cujus abazaea* BPV. 9 *confici* corr. ex *confeci* AV. *Niso*, *Nyso* Swainson. 11 *Eli delubrum* B¹P**MV** Ba., *elidelubrum* AV, *elidulubrum* Oxf., *helis delubrum* E, *heli d.* B², *Elide delubrum* Or. Sch. Mu. 13 *accepimus*, *accipimus* P. 14 *Syria*, *sitia* V², *sirio* Oxf. *Cyproque* $\mathbf{V}_1$ Creuzer, *cyroque* ABCPV**BHO**, *tyroque* E, *siroque* Oxf. 17 *Saitae* edd. after Mars., *salaetae* A, *saletae* BC, *salete* EV**MCR**+, *solete* Oxf., *saletem* P. 18 *a Jove* ABCP, *jove* EV Oxf. Sch. 19 Κορίαν Or. Ba. Mu., *Corian* AB²CEV**BMR**, *Coriam* Oxf. + Sch. 24 *qui idem est* edd. after Dav., *quidem est* MSS. 25 *aliaque* edd. after Dav., *atque* V Oxf. **MCR**+, *et* B², *om.* AB¹CEP**BH**+, cf. § 62 p. 24.

etiam confirmant, interpretando, quorsum quicque pertineat. Sed eo jam, unde huc digressi sumus, revertamur.

43 XVII. Quando enim me in hunc locum deduxit oratio, docebo meliora me didicisse de colendis dis immortalibus jure pontificio et more majorum capedunculis iis, quas Numa nobis reliquit, de quibus in illa aureola oratiuncula dicit Laelius, quam rationibus Stoicorum. Si enim vos sequar, dic, quid ei respondeam, qui me sic roget: Si di sunt *isti*, suntne etiam Nymphae deae? Si Nymphae, Panisci etiam et Satyri. Hi autem non sunt; ne Nymphae [deae] quidem igitur. At earum templa sunt publice vota et dedicata. Ne ceteri quidem ergo di, quorum templa sunt dedicata. Age porro, Jovem et Neptunum deum numeras; ergo etiam Orcus, frater eorum, deus, et illi, qui fluere apud inferos dicuntur, Acheron, Cocytus,
44 Pyriphlegethon, tum Charon, tum Cerberus di putandi. At id quidem repudiandum. Ne Orcus quidem igitur. Quid dicitis ergo de fratribus? Haec Carneades aiebat, non ut deos tolleret (quid enim philosopho minus conveniens?), sed ut Stoicos nihil de dis explicare convinceret; itaque insequebatur. Quid enim? aiebat, Si hi fratres sunt in numero deorum, num de patre eorum Saturno negari potest, quem vulgo maxime colunt ad occidentem? Qui si est deus, patrem quoque ejus Caelum esse deum confitendum est. Quod si ita est, Caeli quoque parentes di habendi sunt, Aether et Dies, eorumque fratres et sorores, qui a genealogis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor, Dolus, Morbus, Metus, Labor, Invidentia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebrae, Miseria, Querella, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcae, Hesperides, Somnia, quos omnes Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt. Aut igitur haec

3 *quando enim*, see on p. 16 l. 17. 5 *iis* **O** edd., *his* BUT**IL**, *is* **N**, om. ACEPV Oxf. **BH**+. 8 *isti* Ed., om. MSS and edd., see Comm. 9 *Panisci* A^1BPV Oxf. **MO**, *Panes* CE**BC**. *et* om. V**TM** Oxf. 10 *deae quidem* ABCPV Oxf.+, *quidem* E Allen Or. Ba. Sch. (*deae* in brackets Mu.), *quidem deae* **H**G+ Heind., *deae* **I** Asc. 13 *deum* MSS generally, before *Jovem* **IL** (should it come after *Jovem*?), *deos* **C**G Reg. Heind. Swainson. 15 *Pyriphlegethon* X **BNC** Oxf., *Styx Phleg.* G**H** Asc. Mars. Heind. 17 *aiebat* B^2[P]**O**. *agebat* B^1 and MSS generally, see below l. 20 in English MSS. 21 *negari* MSS generally, *id negari* **H**G and three of Moser. (Has *id* been lost between *num* and *de* in previous line?) 25 *morbus metus* Ed., *morbus* cod. Buslid. (cited by Gronov.) Or. Ba., *metus* $\mathbf{NCRV}_1$U Sch. Mu., *modus* ABCEPV^1**BHILO**, *motus* V^2 Oxf. **MV**.

monstra probanda sunt aut prima illa tollenda. XVIII. Quid? 45
Apollinem, Vulcanum, Mercurium, ceteros deos esse dices, de
Hercule, Aesculapio, Libero, Castore, Polluce dubitabis? At
hi quidem coluntur aeque atque illi, apud quosdam etiam multo
magis. Ergo hi di sunt habendi mortalibus nati matribus?
Quid? Aristaeus, qui olivae dicitur inventor, Apollinis filius,
Theseus Neptuni, reliqui, quorum patres di, non erunt in deorum
numero? Quid, quorum matres? Opinor, etiam magis. Ut enim
jure civili, qui est matre libera, liber est, item jure naturae, qui
dea matre est, deus sit necesse est. Itaque Achillem Astypa-
laeenses insulani sanctissime colunt; qui si deus est, et Orpheus
et Rhesus di sunt, Musa matre nati, nisi forte maritimae nuptiae
terrenis anteponuntur. Si hi di non sunt, quia nusquam colun-
tur, quo modo illi sunt? Vide igitur, ne virtutibus hominum 46
isti honores habeantur, non immortalitatibus; quod tu quoque,
Balbe, visus es dicere. Quo modo autem potes, si Latonam
deam putas, Hecatam non putare, quae matre Asteria est,
sorore Latonae? An haec quoque dea est? vidimus enim ejus
aras delubraque in Graecia. Sin haec dea est, cur non Eu-
menides? Quae si deae sunt, quarum et Athenis fanum est et
apud nos, ut ego interpretor, lucus Furinae, Furiae deae sunt,
speculatrices, credo, et vindices facinorum et sceleris. Quodsi 47
tales di sunt, ut rebus humanis intersint, Natio quoque dea
putanda est, cui, cum fana circumimus in agro Ardeati, rem

6 *olivae* MSS generally, *olive* AC, *olivi* conj. Olivetus. 7 *Theseus* Cod. Med. of Dav., *Theseus qui* A^1BCEPV^2**B**+, *Theseusque* V^1 Oxf. **R**, *Theseus quid* A^2. 9 *jure* edd. after Walker, *in jure* MSS. 10 *dea matre* [CP]$A^2B^2V^2$ Oxf., *deae matre* V^1 and probably A^1B^1, *dea e* E. *Astypalaeenses* Dav., *astipalinses* BE, *astipalenses* **C**, *astypalisnse* AP, *astypalis ñ se* C, *astypalis non se* **B**, *astipallisnse* V (with *n* erased), *astipalinse* Oxf. 11 *sanctissime colunt* BC**B** Oxf. and (with erasion of one letter before *col.*) V, *sanctissimũ ecolunt* A, *sanctissimum colunt* ET**HLVO**, *sanctissimae colunt* P. 12 *et Rhesus* [BEP], *et hesus* ACV^1**B**, *et Theseus* V^2 Oxf. **MNCRV**. *maritimae* BCE, *maritumae* AV, *maritum hae* P. 15 *honores* [CV] Oxf., *honoris* ABEP. *immortalitatibus* MSS generally, *immortalibus* A^1**LNVO**. 17 *Hecatam* [P], *haecatam* ABCV, *heccatam* Oxf., *hecatem* E**M**+. 19 *cur non Eumenides—Furiae deae sunt* MSS Sch. Mu., Madv. followed by Or. Ba. omits *quae si deae sunt* (20) and *Furiae* (21), see Comm. 20 *fanum* [BP]V^2 Oxf., *fanus* ACV^1**B**, *fannus* E (arch. prob. *fanũ st*). 21 *lucus* [AB^2EV] Oxf., *locus* C**B**, *lucos* P**O**, *locos* **L**. *Furinae* erased in B. 22 *sceleris* MSS, *scelerum* G Heind. Sch.

divinam facere solemus; quae quia partus matronarum tueatur,
a nascentibus Natio nominata est. Ea si dea est, di omnes illi,
qui commemorabantur a te, Honos, Fides, Mens, Concordia,
ergo etiam Spes, Moneta omniaque, quae cogitatione nobismet
ipsi possumus fingere. Quod si veri simile non est, ne illud
quidem est, haec unde fluxerunt. XIX. Quid autem dicis, si
di sunt illi, quos colimus et accepimus, cur non eodem in
genere Serapim Isimque numeremus? quod si facimus, cur
barbarorum deos repudiemus? Boves igitur et equos, ibes,
accipitres, aspidas, crocodilos, pisces, canes, lupos, faeles, multas
praeterea beluas in deorum numerum reponemus. Quae si
48 rejicimus, illa quoque, unde haec nata sunt, rejiciemus. Quid
deinde? Ino dea ducetur et Leucothea a Graecis, a nobis
Matuta dicetur, cum sit Cadmi filia, Circe autem et Pasiphaë
et Aeeta e Perseide, Oceani filia, nat*i*, patre Sole, in deorum
numero non habebuntur? quamquam Circen quoque coloni
nostri Circeienses religiose colunt. Ergo hanc deam duces?
quid Medeae respondebis, quae duobus *dis* avis, Sole et Oceano,
Aeeta patre, matre Idyia procreata est? quid hujus Absyrto
fratri, qui est apud Pacuvium Aegialeus? sed illud nomen
veterum litteris usitatius. Qui si di non sunt, vereor, quid
49 agat Ino; haec enim omnia ex eodem fonte fluxerunt. An
Amphiaraus erit deus et Trophonius? Nostri quidem publicani,

1 *tueatur* B^2 [ACPV], *tuetur* B^1E. 4 *omniaque quae* [BEPV] Oxf. **O**, *omnia quaeque* AC (cf. § 18). 5 *ipsi* edd. after Dav., *ipsis* X Oxf. **B**+. 7 *accepimus* **NVO** Red., *accipimus* X Oxf. cf. §§ 42, 59. *in* MSS generally, om. E**HMRV**, before *eodem* Oxf. 9 *et equos* MSS generally, *etquos* A^1, *equos* Heind. Forchhammer p. 30. *ibes* V^2, *ibis* B, *ibi* AEV^1**B**, *ibī* C. 10 *accipitres* in ras. V, *accipitros* AP. *aspidas*, *aspides* C. *crocodilos* B, *crocodillos* ACEV^1**B**, *crocodrillos* V^2**C**, *corcodrillos* P, *cocodillos* Oxf. see II 124. 11 *numerum* X **BM**+, *numero* **HILN** Oxf. 12 *rejicimus* Ed., *rejiciamus* MSS and edd., see Comm. 13 *ducetur* ACV^1**B**, *dicetur* BEPV^2 Oxf. +. 14 *Pasiphae et Aeeta e Perseide* edd., *pasiphae et eae e perside* ACV, *pasipheae et heae e perside* **B**, *pasipha et eace perside* Oxf., *pasiphe et eae perside* B, *pasiphe et ee e perside* E, *pasiphe et etae eperside* P. 15 *filia nati* edd. after Sch., *filiae natae* MSS generally, see Comm. 16 *Circen* [PV] Oxf., *circem* ABCE**BMON** (*Circam* above § 54). 17 *Circeienses* edd., *circienses* A**RV** Oxf., *cercienses* CPVB^1**BC**, *cercenses* B^2, *circenses* E. *duces* A^1, *ducis* B^1CEV^1**B**, *dices* B^2, *dicis* A^2PV^2 Oxf. +. 18 *duobus dis* Ed. after Allen, *duobus* edd. and MSS. 19 *Aeeta patre matre Idyia* 5 of Moser's MSS edd. after Camerar., *et a patre matri dyla* MSS generally. *Absyrto*, *absyrtio* MSS generally.

cum essent agri in Boeotia deorum immortalium excepti lege censoria, negabant immortales esse ullos, qui aliquando homines fuissent. Sed si sunt hi di, est certe Erechtheus, cujus Athenis et delubrum vidimus et sacerdotem. Quem si deum facimus, quid aut de Codro dubitare possumus aut de ceteris, qui pugnantes pro patriae libertate ceciderunt? quod si probabile non est, ne illa quidem superiora, unde haec manant, probanda sunt. Atque in plerisque civitatibus intellegi potest augendae virtutis 50
gratia, quo libentius rei publicae causa periculum adiret optimus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore deorum immortalium consecratam. Ob eam enim ipsam causam Erechtheus Athenis filiaeque ejus in numero deorum sunt; itemque *Leo natarum* est delubrum Athenis, quod Λεωκόριον, *id est* Leonaticum, nominatur. Alabandenses quidem sanctius Alabandum colunt, a quo est urbs illa condita, quam quemquam nobilium deorum; apud quos non inurbane Stratonicus, ut multa, cum quidam ei molestus Alabandum deum esse confirmaret, Herculem negaret: 'Ergo', inquit, 'mihi Alabandus, tibi Hercules sit iratus!' XX. Illa autem, Balbe, quae tu a caelo astrisque 51
ducebas, quam longe serpant, non vides? Solem deum esse Lunamque, quorum alterum Apollinem Graeci, alteram Dianam putant. Quodsi Luna dea est, ergo etiam Lucifer ceteraeque errantes numerum deorum obtinebunt; igitur etiam inerrantes. Cur autem Arqui species non in deorum numero reponatur? est enim pulcher; et ob eam causam, quia speciem habeat admirabilem, Thaumante dicitur *Iris* esse nata. Cujus si divina

2 *ullos, illos* P. 3 *sunt hi di* BE, *sunt di* A^1, *sunt id* V^1, *sunt ii dii* C, *hi sunt di* PUT, *sunt hii di* A^2, *sunt hi dii* V^2. *Erechtheus* [CP], *erectheus* AB, *eratheus* V Oxf., *eritheus* ETV. 8 *augendae, acuendae* Lact. I 15. 12 *filiaeque* BPV^2A^2, *iliaeque* A^1, *illiaeque* CV^1, *illi aeque* **B**, *filie eque* Oxf. *Leo natarum* Lamb., *Leonaticum* MSS generally, with obelus Or. Ba., *Leontidum* V_1 Sch., *Leoidum* Wytt. 13 Λεωκόριον, in Latin letters MSS and edd. *id est Leonaticum nominatur* Ed., *nominatur* MSS and edd. 14 *Alabandenses* [C]V^2 Oxf. **MB**, *alabandensis* ABP, *alabandenshis* V^1, *alabandensus* E, cf. § 39. 24 *Arqui* A^1PV^1**OR**, *arcui* B Oxf., *arcuis* Charisius p. 117. 16 (Keil), *arcus* A^2V^2**H**+, *arci* CE Priscian VI 14. 74, *arei* **B**. *reponatur, ponatur* Charis. l. c. 25 *causam quia speciem* V_1 edd. after Lamb., *speciem quia causam* MSS. *habeat* MSS Mu., *habet* Or. Ba. Sch. after Ernesti. 26 *Iris* edd. after Ant. Augustinus, om. MSS. *nata* MSS generally (but A has last letter 'in ras.'), *natus* ÇG Asc.

natura est, quid facies nubibus? Arcus enim ipse e nubibus efficitur quodam modo coloratis; quarum una etiam Centauros peperisse dicitur. Quodsi nubes rettuleris in deos, referendae certe erunt tempestates, quae populi Romani ritibus consecratae sunt. Ergo imbres, nimbi, procellae, turbines di putandi. Nostri quidem duces mare ingredientes immolare hostiam flucti-
52 bus consuerunt. Jam si est Ceres a gerendo (ita enim dicebas), terra ipsa dea est et ita habetur; quae est enim alia Tellus? Sin terra, mare etiam, quem Neptunum esse dicebas; ergo et flumina et fontes Itaque et Fontis delubrum Maso ex Corsica dedicavit, et in augurum precatione Tiberinum, Spinonem, Almonem, Nodinum, alia propinquorum fluminum nomina videmus. Ergo hoc aut in immensum serpet, aut nihil horum recipiemus, nec illa infinita ratio superstitionis probabitur. Nihil ergo horum probandum est.

61 XXIV. Num censes igitur subtiliore ratione opus esse ad haec refellenda? Nam mentem, fidem, spem, virtutem, honorem, victoriam, salutem, concordiam ceteraque ejus modi rerum vim habere videmus, non deorum. Aut enim in nobismet insunt ipsis, ut mens, ut spes, ut fides, ut virtus, ut concordia, aut optandae nobis sunt, ut honos, ut salus, ut victoria; quarum rerum utilitatem video, video etiam consecrata simulacra; quare autem in iis vis deorum insit, tum intellegam, cum cognovero. Quo in genere vel maxime est fortuna numeranda, quam nemo ab inconstantia et temeritate sejunget, quae digna
62 certe non sunt deo. Jam vero quid vos illa delectat explicatio fabularum et enodatio nominum? Exsectum a filio Caelum, vinctum itidem a filio Saturnum, haec et alia generis ejusdem ita defenditis, ut ii, qui ista finxerunt, non modo non insani,

2 *coloratis* edd. after Dav., *coloratus* MSS. 7 *consuerunt*, *consueverunt* **EHLN** Sch. *jam* [B]P, *tam* CEV**BHM**, *tum* A in ras. 9 *mare* BG**H**, *mater* ACEPV**BM** Oxf. +. 10 *Maso* edd. after Ant. Augustinus, *Marso* MSS generally. 12 *Almonem* edd. after Ursinus, *anemonem* MSS generally, *anienem* C^{2}**R** Lamb. Swainson. 13 *horum* CEV^{2}**BMO**, *honorum* ABV^{1}, *bonorum* P. 18 *ejus modi* MSS generally, *hujus m.* BI**L**+. 19 *aut enim* [ABCE] Oxf. V^{2}, *autem enim* PV^{1}. 21 *ut salus ut* [X], *salus* **H** Oxf. 22 *utilitatem video video* [X] edd. after Victorius, *utilitate video* **MCRV** Oxf. 23 *in iis* CV Or. Ba. Mu., *in his* BEP Sch. 26 *explicatio* [BEP]V^{2}**MO** Oxf., *explacatio* A 'in ras.' V^{1}, *explanatio* C**B**.

sed etiam fuisse sapientes videantur. In enodandis autem nominibus, quod miserandum sit, laboratis. Saturnus, quia se saturat annis, Mavors, quia magna vertit, Minerva, quia minuit aut quia minatur, Venus, quia venit ad omnia, Ceres a gerendo. Quam periculosa consuetudo! In multis enim nominibus haerebitis. Quid Vejovi facies, quid Vulcano? quamquam, quoniam Neptunum a nando appellatum putas, nullum erit nomen, quod non possis una littera explicare unde ductum sit; in quo quidem magis tu mihi natare visus es quam ipse Neptunus. Magnam 63 molestiam suscepit et minime necessariam primus Zeno, post Cleanthes, deinde Chrysippus, commenticiarum fabularum reddere rationem, vocabulorum*que*, cur quicque ita appellatum sit, causas explicare. Quod cum facitis, illud profecto confitemini, longe aliter se rem habere, atque hominum opinio sit; eos enim, qui di appellantur, rerum naturas esse, non figuras deorum. XXV. Qui tantus error fuit, ut perniciosis etiam rebus non *modo* nomen deorum tribueretur, sed etiam sacra constituerentur. Febris enim fanum in Palatio et *Orbonae ad* aedem Larum et aram Malae Fortunae Esquiliis consecratam videmus. Omnis 64 igitur talis a philosophia pellatur error, ut, cum de dis immortalibus disputemus, dica*mus indigna naturis* immortalibus; de quibus habeo ipse quid sentiam, non habeo autem quid tibi assentiar. Neptunum esse dicis animum cum intellegentia per mare pertinentem, idem de Cerere. Istam autem intellegen-

3 *vertit*, *vortit* Sch. Swainson. 12 *vocabulorumque* **C** Heind. Swainson, *vocabulorum* MSS and edd. *quicque* E**R**, *quidque* B^2, *quique* AB^1CPV**BML** Oxf. + Sch. Swainson, *quisque* **HTO**. *appellatum sit* [ABCE]**B**, *appellatus sit* P**LNO**, *sit appellatus* **H**, *appellati sint* **C** Sch. Swainson, *appellati sit* **TV**, *appellanti sint* V^2, *appellantur sit* V^1, *appellant cum sit* Oxf., *appellantur unde sit* **M**, *appellatur unde sit* **R**. 17 *modo* Red. **N**, *solum* **C**, om. MSS generally. 18 *et Orbonae ad* ed. Bonon. 1494, *et* MSS, *ad* Swainson, see Comm. 19 *Esquiliis* [P]**CR**, *exquiliis* ABCEV Oxf. **HLMO**. 20 *a philosophia pellatur* Oxf. **M**, *a philosophi a pellatur* V^1, *a philosophis appellatur* V^2, *a philosophi appellatur* B^1C**B**, *a philosophis appellatur* EP**HL**+, *a filosofiappellatur* A, *philosophia appellatur* B^2, *a phil. aspell.* Heind. Kayser. 21 *dicamus indigna naturis* Or. Ba. Sch. after Madv., *dicaliusu ignais* ACPV^1, *dicali usu ignais* Oxf., *dicali usu ignaris* **IL**, *dicali usu igna his* **B**, *dic alio usu igneis* V^2**N**, *dicamus dignais de dis* E, *dicamus digna dis* B, *dicamus indigna iis* Mu. (Fleckeis. *Jb.* 1864 p. 135). 22 *quid—quid* MSS, *quod—quod* edd. after Ernesti, see Comm. 23 *per mare* [BPVA^2] Oxf., *permanere* CE**B** and probably A^1.

tiam aut maris aut terrae non modo comprehendere animo, sed ne suspicione quidem possum attingere. Itaque aliunde mihi quaerendum est, ut et esse deos, et quales sint di, discere possim; quales tu eos esse vis...

65 Videamus ea, quae sequuntur: primum deorumne providentia mundus regatur, deinde consulantne di rebus humanis. Haec enim mihi ex tua partitione restant duo; de quibus, si vobis videtur, accuratius disserendum puto. Mihi vero, inquit Velleius, valde videtur; nam et majora exspecto et iis, quae dicta sunt, vehementer assentior. Tum Balbus: Interpellare te, inquit, Cotta, nolo, sed sumemus tempus aliud; efficiam profecto, ut fateare. Sed...

> Nequaquam istuc istac ibit; magna inest certatio.
> Nam ut ego illis supplicarem tanta blandiloquentia,
> ni ob rem?

66 XXVI. Parumne ratiocinari videtur et sibi ipsa nefariam pestem machinari? Illud vero quam callida ratione!

> Qui volt esse, quod volt, ita dat se res, ut operam dabit.

Qui est versus omnium seminator malorum.

> Ille traversa mente mi hodie tradidit repagula,
> quibus ego iram omnem recludam atque illi perniciem dabo,
> mihi maerores, illi luctum, exitium illi, exilium mihi.

Hanc videlicet rationem, quam vos divino beneficio homini
67 solum tributam dicitis, bestiae non habent. Videsne igitur,

1 *comprendere* AP. 3 *ut et esse* **MO** Asc., *et ut esse* ABCEV**B** Oxf., *ut esse* P. 4 Madvig fills up the lacuna (unmarked in MSS) with *non esse scio*, Heind. reads *quoniam quales tu eos esse vis, agnoscere non possum.* 5 *deorumne providentia* V^2 Oxf., *deorum prudentia* ABCEPV^1. 6 *consulantne di* C**BC**, *consulantne de* ABEPV^1T**O**, *consulantne* V^2 Oxf. **M**+Sch. 9 *iis* CV Or. Ba. Mu., *his* B^1EP Sch., *is* A. 12 *sed nequaquam* without lacuna MSS. 13 *istac ibit* EP, *is tacebit* C**C**, *his tacebit* **B**, *isthac ibit* **H**, *ista ibit* A and (with erasure after *a*) B (with *isthaec* in same writing on marg.) V, *ista haec ibique* Oxf., *istaec ibit* **MV**. 14 *illis, illi* Mu. after Ribbeck. 15 *ni ob rem* Ed., *ni orbem* V, *niobem* AEC^2**B**, *niobe* B, *in jovem* C^1, *an iobem* P**M**, *anioben* Oxf., *an Niobe* **IL**+, om. G edd., *Medea* Kindervater, *an Medea* Swainson. 18 *esse* [PV], om. ABCE**B**+. *ita dat—dabit, ut dat operam res ita se dabit* L. Müller. *dat se res, dant se res ei* Ribbeck, *dabit sese res* (om. *esse*) Halm. 20 *mi hodie* Oxf., *mihi hodie* X**BH**+. 21 *perniciem* or *pernitiem* MSS generally, *permiciem* V^1, *permitiem* Ribbeck p. ix (see Lewis and Short s. v.). 22 *exitium* [BEV^2] **M** Asc., *exitum* ACPV^1**B** Oxf.+.

quanto munere deorum simus affecti? Atque eadem Medea patrem patriamque fugiens:

postquam pater
appropinquat jamque paene ut comprehendatur parat,
puerum interea obtruncat membraque articulatim dividit
perque agros passim dispergit corpus; id ea gratia,
ut, dum nati dissipatos artus captaret parens,
ipsa interea effugeret, illum ut maeror tardaret sequi,
sibi salutem ut familiari pareret parricidio.

Huic ut scelus, sic ne ratio quidem defuit. Quid? ille funestas 68
epulas fratri comparans nonne versat huc et illuc cogitatione rationem?

Major mihi moles, majus miscendumst malum,
qui illius acerbum cor contundam et comprimam.

XXVII. Nec tamen ille ipse est praetereundus,

qui non sat habuit conjugem illexe in stuprum,

de quo recte et verissime loquitur Atreus:

...quod re in summa summum esse arbitror
p*ia*clum, matres coinquinari regias,
contaminari stirpem admisceri genus.

At id ipsum quam callide, qui regnum adulterio quaereret:

Add*e*, inquit, huc, quod mihi portento caelestum pater
prodigium misit, regni stabilimen mei,
agnum inter pecudes aurea clarum coma,
quem clam Thyestem clepere ausum esse e regia,
qua in re adjutricem conjugem cepit sibi.

Videturne summa improbitate usus non sine summa esse 69
ratione? Nec vero scaena solum referta est his sceleribus,

1 *Medea*, *media* B¹V Oxf. 3 *postquam*, *posquam* A Ba. (referring to Ritschl *Rhein. Mus.* VII 571; see Munro on *Lucr.* IV 1186). 13 *miscendumst* edd., *miscendum est* MSS. 18 *re in* MSS generally, *in re* Sch. 19 *piaclum* Ed. after Allen, *periclum* ACPV edd., *periculum* BE. *coinquinari* [BCEPV²] Oxf., *quoinquinari* AV¹, *quo inquinari* **B**, *conquinari* **H** Ribbeck (cf. Lachm. in *Lucr.* p. 135). *regias* ABCEP, *regiam* V (before erasure) Oxf. **MR**+. 20 *admisceri* MSS. *ac misceri* edd. after Ribbeck. 21 *at* A²B²V²[CP] Oxf., *ad* A¹B¹EV¹**HLC**. 22 *adde* Ribbeck Mu., *addo* MSS Or. Ba. Sch. 25 *quem clam Thyestem* AGUT**R** Heind. Or. Ba., *quem clari Th.* **H**, *quendam Th.* B (ex corr.) **CBMO**, *quem dant hyestem* V Oxf., *quem dant Th.* E, *quem cleanthyestem* P, *quondam Th.* Nonius p. 20 Sch. Mu. 26 *qua* A (after erasion), *a qua* **BHM**+, *aqua* Oxf. BCEPV. *cepit* [EPV], *caepit* AC, *coepit* B.

sed multo vita communis paene majoribus. Sentit domus unius cujusque, sentit forum, sentit curia, Campus, socii, provinciae, ut, quem ad modum ratione recte fiat, sic ratione peccetur, alterumque et a paucis et raro, alterum et saepe et a plurimis, ut satius fuerit nullam omnino nobis a dis immortalibus datam esse rationem quam tanta cum pernicie datam. Ut vinum aegrotis, quia prodest raro, nocet saepissime, melius est non adhibere omnino quam spe dubiae salutis in apertam perniciem incurrere, sic haud scio an melius fuerit humano generi motum istum celerem cogitationis, acumen, sollertiam, quam rationem vocamus, quoniam pestifera *est* multis, admodum paucis salutaris, non dari omnino quam tam munifice et tam large dari.

70 Quam ob rem si mens voluntasque divina idcirco consuluit hominibus, quod iis est largita rationem, iis solis consuluit, quos bona ratione donavit, quos videmus, si modo ulli sunt, esse perpaucos. Non placet autem paucis a dis immortalibus esse consultum; sequitur ergo, ut nemini consultum sit.

XXVIII. Huic loco sic soletis occurrere: non idcirco non optime nobis a dis esse provisum, quod multi eorum beneficio perverse uterentur; etiam patrimoniis multos male uti, nec ob eam causam eos beneficium a patribus nullum habere. Quisquam istuc negat? aut quae est in collatione ista similitudo? Nec enim Herculi nocere Deianira voluit, cum ei tunicam san-

4 *saepe* edd. after Manut., *semper* MSS. 11 *est* Sch. Or. Ba. Mu., *sint* A^{1}BEPV^1, *sit* CA^{2}V^2 Oxf. Mus., *sunt* G Heind. *salutaris* X, *salutaria* B^{2}HG Heind. 14 *est largita, largita est* Sch. 15 *ulli sunt esse* E, *ulli sint esse* ABCV Oxf., *ullis interesse* PLT. 21 *quisquam istuc* CBH, *quisquas istuc* BP (see Introd. on MSS), *quisquamne istuc* V (ex corr.) Oxf., *quid istud* E, *quisquam juste* A (*juste* in ras. later hand). 23 On the order of the clauses from *Nec enim* to *subesset* (p. 29 l. 16) see Comm. The arrangement there proposed is as follows: *Non enim, ut patrimonium relinquitur, sic ratio est homini beneficio deorum data. Quid enim potius hominibus dedissent, si iis nocere voluissent?* [They could not have given ignorantly, as men do.] *Multi enim et, cum obesse vellent, profuerunt et, cum prodesse, obfuerunt. Nec enim Herculi nocere Deianira voluit, cum ei tunicam sanguine Centauri tinctam dedit, nec prodesse Pheraeo Jasoni is, qui gladio vomicam ejus aperuit, quam sanare medici non potuerant. Ita non fit ex eo, quod datur, ut voluntas ejus, qui dederit, appareat, nec, si is, qui accepit, bene utitur, idcirco is, qui dedit, amice dedit. Injustitiae autem, intemperantiae, timiditatis quae semina essent, si his vitiis ratio non subesset? Quae enim libido, quae avaritia, quod facinus aut suscipitur nisi consilio capto aut sine animi motu et cogitatione, id est ratione, perficitur? Nam omnis opinio ratio*

guine Centauri tinctam dedit, nec prodesse Pheraeo Jasoni is,
qui gladio vomicam ejus aperuit, quam sanare medici non
potuerant. Multi enim et, cum obesse vellent, profuerunt et,
cum prodesse, obfuerunt. Ita non fit ex eo, quod datur, ut
voluntas ejus, qui dederit, appareat, nec, si is, qui accepit, bene
utitur, idcirco is, qui dedit, amice dedit. Quae enim libido, 71
quae avaritia, quod facinus aut suscipitur nisi consilio capto aut
sine animi motu et cogitatione, id est ratione, perficitur? Nam
omnis opinio ratio est, et quidem bona ratio, si vera, mala
autem, si falsa est opinio. Sed a deo tantum rationem habemus, si modo habemus, bonam autem rationem aut non bonam
a nobis. Non enim, ut patrimonium relinquitur, sic ratio est
homini beneficio deorum data. Quid enim potius hominibus
dedissent, si iis nocere voluissent? Injustitiae autem, intemperantiae, timiditatis quae semina essent, si his vitiis ratio non
subesset?

XXIX. Medea modo et Atreus commemorabantur a nobis,
heroicae personae, inita subductaque ratione nefaria scelera
meditantes. Quid? levitates comicae parumne semper in ra- 72
tione versantur? parumne subtiliter disputat ille in Eunucho?

> Quid igitur faciam?......
> Exclusit, revocat; redeam? non, si me obsecret.

Ille vero in Synephebis Academicorum more contra communem opinionem non dubitat pugnare ratione, qui 'in amore summo summaque inopia suave esse' dicit

> parentem habere avarum, illepidum, in liberos
> difficilem, qui te nec amet nec studeat tui.

Atque huic incredibili sententiae ratiunculas suggerit: 73

> aut tu illum fructu fallas aut per litteras
> avertas aliquod nomen aut per servolum

est, et quidem bona ratio, si vera, mala autem, si falsa est opinio. Sed a deo tantum rationem habemus, si modo habemus, bonam autem rationem aut non bonam a nobis. 23 *cum ei* MSS generally, *cui* CB.

1 *Jasoni is qui* [ABCP] Oxf., *jasonis qui* EV. 7 *aut suscipitur, suscipitur* Sch. 14 *dedissent, dii dedissent* B. 15 *si his* [BEP], *si is* AV¹, *si iis* CV². 17 *Medea* [X] Oxf. O, *media* VLN, see § 67. *commemorabantur* [A], *commemorabatur* BCEPV Oxf. 19 *comicae, comice* CV. *semper* MSS Sch. Mu., *saepe* Or. Ba. after Madv. see Comm. 27 *nec amet* BPA²V² Oxf., *necari et* CEV¹B and probably A¹. 28 *incredibili, incredibilis* A.

percutias pavidum, postremo a parco patre
quod sumas, quanto dissipes libentius!

Idemque facilem et liberalem patrem incommodum esse amanti filio disputat,

quem neque quo pacto fallam neque ut inde auferam,
nec quem dolum ad eum aut machinam commoliar,
scio quicquam; ita omnes meos dolos, fallacias,
praestrigias praestrinxit commoditas patris.

Quid ergo? isti doli, quid? machinae, quid? fallaciae praestrigiaeque, num sine ratione esse potuerunt? O praeclarum munus deorum! ut Phormio possit dicere:

Cedo senem; jam instructa sunt mi in corde consilia omnia.

74 XXX. Sed exeamus e theatro, veniamus in forum. Sessum it praetor. Quid ut judicetur? Qui tabularium incenderit. Quod facinus occultius? *Id* se Q. Sosius, splendidus eques Romanus ex agro Piceno, fecisse confessus est. Qui transscripserit tabulas publicas. Id quoque L. Alenus fecit, cum chirographum sex primorum imitatus est. Quid hoc homine sollertius? Cognosce alias quaestiones, auri Tolossani, conjurationis Jugurthinae. Repete superiora, Tubuli de pecunia capta ob rem judicandam; posteriora, de incestu rogatione Peducaea. Tum haec cotidiana, sicae, venena, peculatus, testamentorum etiam lege nova quaestiones. Inde illa actio: OPE CONSILIOQUE TUO FURTUM AIO FACTUM ESSE; inde tot judicia de fide mala, tutelae, mandati,

2 *dissipes* CE**B**+, *dissipis* ABPV¹, *dissipas* V² Oxf. +Sch. 5 *neque ut inde* Buslid. Sch. Or. Ba., *neque unde* ACEP**B**+, *neque tinde* V¹, *ne quid inde* B, *neque quid inde* V² Oxf. **CR**, *nec quid inde* **V** Mu. (who refers to his *Pros. Plaut.* p. 351) Ribbeck *Frag.* p. 69² (who erroneously cites Sch. for this reading). 8 *praestrigias* Sch. Mu. Ribbeck (see next line), *praestigias* MSS Or. Ba. 9 *praestrigiaeque* V, *praestigiaeque* other MSS Or. Ba. 12 *cedo* [BCEP] Oxf., *caedo* AV. *mi in* [C], *mihi in* ABEPV. 13 *it praetor* Lamb. (ex Cod. Memmiano), *ite praecor* AC, *ite precor* BPV Oxf.+, *ita precor* E**L**, *item precor* **B**. 15 *id se* Sch. Ba. Mu. after Dav. (cf. *idque* below § 83), *ad se* AEV Oxf. **B**+, *at se* BCP Or., *at id se* Schütz. *Q. Sosius* [CP], *quintus Sosius* ABEV**B**. 17 *L. Alenus* [ABEP], *lalenus* C**B**, *l. aienus* V Oxf. **MC**. 22 *sicae*, *sica* B. *venena* MSS generally, Forch. p. 24, *veneni* **C** Reg. Moser's O edd. after Dav., see Comm. 24 *mala tutelae* **BO**, *mala tutele* C, *mala at utile* PV, *mala tot utiles* E, *mala tam utiles* Oxf., *m. tam utile* **M**, *m. tum tutelae* **R**, *fidem alatat utile* A, *allata tutelae* B.

pro socio, fiduciae, reliqua, quae ex empto aut vendito aut conducto aut locato contra fidem fiunt; inde judicium publicum rei privatae lege *P*laetoria; inde everriculum malitiarum omnium, judicium de dolo malo, quod C. Aquillius, familiaris noster, protulit; quem dolum idem Aquillius tum teneri putat, cum aliud sit simulatum, aliud actum. Hanc igitur tantam a dis 75
immortalibus arbitramur malorum sementim esse factam? Si enim rationem hominibus di dederunt, malitiam dederunt; est enim malitia versuta et fallax ratio nocendi; idem etiam di fraudem dederunt, facinus ceteraque, quorum nihil nec suscipi sine ratione nec effici potest. 'Utinam' igitur, ut illa anus optat,

ne in nemore Pelio securibus
caesa accedisset abiegna ad terram trabes,

sic istam calliditatem hominibus di ne dedissent! qua perpauci bene utuntur, qui tamen ipsi saepe a male utentibus opprimuntur, innumerabiles autem improbe utuntur, ut donum hoc divinum rationis et consilii ad fraudem hominibus, non ad bonitatem impertitum esse videatur.

XXXI. Sed urgetis identidem hominum esse istam culpam, 76
non deorum; ut si medicus gravitatem morbi, gubernator vim tempestatis accuset; etsi hi quidem homunculi, (sed tamen ridiculi: quis enim te adhibuisset, dixerit quispiam, si ista non essent?) contra deum licet disputare liberius. In hominum vitiis ais esse culpam. Eam dedisses hominibus rationem, quae vitia culpamque excluderet. Ubi igitur locus fuit errori deo-

1 *conducto* Oxf., *conduto* AV. 3 *Plaetoria* edd. after Heind., *laetoria* BPV, *letoria* AC**BLM**+, *latoria* Oxf., *lotoria* E, *lectoria* **NV**+. 7 *sementim* ABC**B**, *sementem* PV Sch., *sementum* E. 9 *ratio nocendi*, *nocendi ratio* UT Sch. 14 *caesa accedisset* Ribbeck frag. p. ix, Vahlen *Enn.* p. 124, Weidner on Cic. *Invent.* I 91, *caesae accidissent* ACPV**BC** Oxf. Mu. (but in 1884 he gives in *Herenn.* II 22 § 34 *caesa accedisset*), *caese accidissent* B[1] (B[2] has *cecid.*), *cese cecidissent* E (in *Fat.* 35 all MSS have *caesae*, V has *accedissent*, A[1] *cecaedissent*, A[2]B *cecidissent*, but B has *ce* in ras.; in *Herenn.* all give *caesae* with or without diphthongs, H has *accedissent*, B *accidissent*, the rest *cecidissent*), *caesa accidisset* Varro *L. L.* VII 33, Priscian VII 8. 41 (where the best MSS have *accedisset*) Heind. Or. Ba. Sch. L. Müller (*Enn.* p. 144), *caesa cecidisset* Asc. Herv. Lamb. *abiegna* Asc. $\mathbf{V}_1$ Varro &c. as above, *abiegnae* **MRVO**, *abigne* X, *abiegne* by corr. B, *ab igne* Oxf. **BC**. 22 *etsi hi* [BPV] Oxf. **M**, *et sibi* AC**B**, *etsi* E. 25 *dedisses* Oxf. **BO** [ACPV], *dedisse* B (before erasure) **EH**.

rum? Nam patrimonia spe bene tradendi relinquimus, qua possumus falli; deus falli qui potuit? An ut Sol, in currum cum Phaëthontem filium sustulit, aut Neptunus, cum Theseus Hippolytum perdidit, cum ter optandi a Neptuno patre habu-
77 isset potestatem? Poëtarum ista sunt, nos autem philosophi esse volumus, rerum auctores, non fabularum. Atque hi tamen ipsi di poëtici si scissent perniciosa fore illa filiis, peccasse in beneficio putarentur. *Ut*, si verum est, quod Aristo Chius dicere solebat, nocere audientibus philosophos iis, qui bene dicta male interpretarentur—posse enim asotos ex Aristippi, acerbos e Zenonis schola exire—, prorsus, si, qui audierunt, vitiosi essent discessuri, quod perverse philosophorum disputationem interpretarentur, tacere praestaret philosophos quam iis, qui se audis-
78 sent, nocere; sic, si homines rationem bono consilio a dis immortalibus datam in fraudem malitiamque convertunt, non dari illam quam dari humano generi melius fuit. Ut, si medicus sciat eum aegrotum, qui jussus sit vinum sumere, meracius sumpturum statimque periturum, magna sit in culpa; sic vestra ista providentia reprehendenda, quae rationem dederit iis, quos scierit ea perverse et improbe usuros. Nisi forte dicitis eam nescisse. Utinam quidem! Sed non audebitis. Non enim ignoro, quanti ejus nomen putetis.

79 XXXII. Sed hic quidem locus concludi jam potest. Nam si stultitia consensu omnium philosophorum majus est malum, quam si omnia mala et fortunae et corporis ex altera parte ponantur, sapientiam autem nemo assequitur, in summis malis omnes sumus, quibus vos optime consultum a dis immortalibus dicitis. Nam ut nihil interest, utrum nemo valeat, an nemo possit valere, sic non intellego, quid intersit, utrum nemo sit sapiens, an nemo esse possit. Ac nos quidem nimis multa de

3 *cum* MSS generally, in ras. A, *quom* V[1]. 8 *ut* Dav. Or. Ba., *et* MSS Sch. Mu. *verum est* MSS Sch. Mu., *verum esset* Or. Ba. after Madv. 10 *acerbos e* [CEP], *accerbos e* ABV, *accerbo seu* **B**, *acerbose* Oxf. **O**. 11 *si qui audierunt —interpretarentur*, om. Or. Ba. after Madv. see Comm. 12 *philosophorum —qui se*, om. C**B** (from homœoteleuton). *disputationem* MSS, *disputationes* Sch. 13 *philosophos* **O** Lamb. Sch. Ba., *philosophis* MSS Or. Mu. see Comm. 16 *illam* [ABCE]**O**, *aliam* PV**B** Oxf. 19 *reprehendenda* Oxf., *repraendenda* A (which also has *compraendere* in § 21), *reprendenda* V. 22 *nomen* MSS, *numen* Sch. after Dav.

re apertissima. Telamo autem uno versu locum totum conficit, cur di homines neglegant:

> Nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis; quod nunc abest.

Debebant illi quidem omnes bonos efficere, siquidem hominum generi consulebant. Sin id minus, bonis quidem certe consu- 80
lere debebant. Cur igitur duo Scipiones, fortissimos et optimos viros, in Hispania Poenus oppressit? cur Maximus extulit filium consularem? cur Marcellum Hannibal interemit? cur Paulum Cannae sustulerunt? cur Poenorum crudelitati Reguli corpus est praebitum? cur Africanum domestici parietes non texerunt? Sed haec vetera et alia permulta; propiora videamus. Cur avunculus meus, vir innocentissimus idemque doctissimus, P. Rutilius, in exilio est? cur sodalis meus interfectus domi suae, Drusus? cur temperantiae prudentiaeque specimen ante simulacrum Vestae pontifex maximus est Q. Scaevola trucidatus? cur ante etiam tot civitatis principes a Cinna interempti? cur omnium perfidiosissimus, C. Marius, Q. Catulum, praestantissima dignitate virum, mori potuit jubere? Dies deficiat, si 81
velim numerare, quibus bonis male evenerit, nec minus, si commemorem, quibus improbis optime. Cur enim Marius tam feliciter septimum consul domi suae senex est mortuus? cur omnium crudelissimus tam diu Cinna regnavit? At dedit poenas. XXXIII. Prohiberi melius fuit impedirique, ne tot summos viros interficeret, quam ipsum aliquando poenas dare. Summo cruciatu supplicioque Q. Varius, homo importunissimus, periit; si, quia Drusum ferro, Metellum veneno sustulerat, illos conservari melius fuit quam poenas sceleris Varium pendere. Duodequadraginta annos Dionysius tyrannus fuit opu-

1 *conficit cur di* [ABEP], *conficitur di* V^1, *conficit utrum di* V^2 Oxf. **V**, *conficit ut di* C**B**. 6 *duo Scipiones*, *duos cipiones* A, *duo sippiones* C^1, *duo sipiones* **B**, *duos Scipiones* C^{2}E Oxf. +. 9 *Reguli*, *reguilis* A^1, *reguilis* V^1. 11 *propiora* [CEP] Oxf. **O**, *propriora* ABV^1. 15 *est Q. Scaevola* [ABPV^2] Oxf., *est que scevola* C, *est quae sc.* **B**, *est p. scevola* V^1, *est scevola* E. 18 *deficiat* [ABEPV] Oxf. **H**, *deficiet* CUT**BLNO**. 19 *numerare*, *enumerare* Ern. prob. Mu. *si commemorem*, *siccommemorem* AEV^1, *commemorem* Oxf. 21 *septimum* V^1[AB] Oxf. **M**, *septimus* CE**B**, *septies* PV^2**HIN**+. 26 *si* AV^1, *se* B^1, *sed* B^2**HLR**+, *sic* CEV^2**BMV** Oxf. 28 *annos Dionysius tyrannus*, *D. t. annos* MSS generally (V with a mark denoting transposition).

82 lentissimae et beatissimae civitatis; quam multos ante hunc in ipso Graeciae flore Pisistratus! At Phalaris, at Apollodorus poenas sustulit. Multis quidem ante cruciatis et necatis. Et praedones multi saepe poenas dant, nec tamen possumus dicere non plures captivos acerbe quam praedones necatos. Anaxarchum Democriteum a Cyprio tyranno excarnificatum accepimus, Zenonem Eleae in tormentis necatum. Quid dicam de Socrate, cujus morti illacrimari soleo Platonem legens? Videsne igitur deorum judicio, si vident res humanas, discrimen esse
83 sublatum? XXXIV. Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat Harpalum, qui temporibus illis praedo felix habebatur, contra deos testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret. Dionysius, de quo ante dixi, cum fanum Proserpinae Locris expilavisset, navigabat Syracusas; isque cum secundissimo vento cursum teneret, ridens 'Videtisne', inquit, 'amici, quam bona a dis immortalibus navigatio sacrilegis detur?' *Id*que homo acutus cum bene planeque percepisset, in eadem sententia perseverabat. Qui cum ad Peloponnesum classem appulisset et in fanum venisset Jovis Olympii, aureum ei detraxit amiculum grandi pondere, quo Jovem ornarat e manubiis Karthaginiensium tyrannus Gelo, atque in eo etiam cavillatus est aestate grave esse aureum amiculum, hieme frigidum, eique laneum pallium injecit, cum id esse ad omne anni tempus diceret. Idemque Aesculapii Epidauri barbam auream

1 *multos, multas* CEP. 3 *sustulit, luit* Cobet p. 463. *et praedones* MSS, *etiam pr.* Ba. after Heind. 8 *soleo Platonem* Oxf. **O**, *soleo l. Platonem* ABV. 11 *felix* B**O**, *filia* ACEPV, *fulia* Oxf. **M**, *filica* **B**, *infelix panphilia* **N** Red., *in pamphylia* Gruter's Pal. 4, *in Pamphylia felix* Heind., *in silva* **C** Reg., *summus* U**HR**+, *nobilis* Madv. ap. Forch. p. 30. 13 *Dionysius—nolle sumere* (p. 35, l. 9) copied in Val. Max. I 1 extr. 3. 14 *Syracusas, seracusas* AV^1, *siracusas* Oxf. 17 *idque* Lamb., *atque* ACEPV Mus. Oxf., *atqui* B. 18 *qui cum ad* B^{2}V^2 Oxf. **MO**, *qui quod ad* A^2 (*a* for *ad* A^1) B^{1}CPV^1**B**, *quid quod cum ad* E. 19 *classem* [BCPV] Oxf., *classum* A, *castrum classem* E, om. **O**. 21 *manubiis* [BE]C^2, *manubiis is* AP**H**, *manubiis iis* V, *manibiis* C^1, *manibus* **IN**U. *Gelo* ABCEV**O**, *gelu* P, *Hiero* GU**IV**. 22 *grave* [C], *gravem* ABEPV Oxf. **BHV**+ (see § 10). 24 *tempus* ABCPV^1**HBI** Forch. p. 28, with *aptum* before *ad omne* V^{2}U**M** Oxf. Mu. Sch., *tempus apte* E, *tempus aptius* T, *tempus aptum* Ba. Or. (comparing Val. Max. l.c., Lact. II 4). *Aesculapii* [EPV], *aesculapi* A^{1}B**B**, *asclepii* C^1, *aesculapio* C^2. *Epidauri* MSS generally, *epidaurei* **N**, *epidaurii* **R** Forch. p. 53, *epidaurio* C by corr.

demi jussit; neque enim convenire barbatum esse filium, cum in omnibus fanis pater imberbis esset. Etiam mensas argenteas 84
de omnibus delubris jussit auferri, in quibus cum more veteris Graeciae inscriptum esset BONORUM DEORUM, uti se eorum bonitate velle dicebat. Idem Victoriolas aureas et pateras coronasque, quae simulacrorum porrectis manibus sustinebantur, sine dubitatione tollebat eaque se accipere, non auferre dicebat; esse enim stultitiam, a quibus bona precaremur, ab iis porrigentibus et dantibus nolle sumere. Eundemque ferunt haec, quae dixi, sublata de fanis in forum protulisse et per praeconem vendidisse exactaque pecunia edixisse, ut, quod quisque a sacris haberet, id ante diem certam in suum quicque fanum referret. Ita ad impietatem in deos in homines adjunxit injuriam.

XXXV. Hunc igitur nec Olympius Juppiter fulmine percussit nec Aesculapius misero diuturnoque morbo tabescentem interemit, atque in suo lectulo mortuus, *ut tyrannidis fabula magnificum haberet exitum,* in † Typanidis † rogum illatus est eamque potestatem, quam ipse per scelus erat nanctus, quasi justam et legitimam hereditatis loco filio tradidit. Invita in hoc loco 85
versatur oratio; videtur enim auctoritatem afferre peccandi; recte videretur, nisi et virtutis et vitiorum sine ulla divina ratione grave ipsius conscientiae pondus esset, qua sublata jacent omnia. Ut enim nec domus nec res publica ratione quadam et disciplina dissignata videatur, si in ea nec recte

2 *esset etiam* edd. after Gulielmius, *esset jam* MSS, *esset idem* Sch. 3 *cum* Red. **N** edd. after Madv. (*Fin.* III 65), *quod* MSS generally, cf. p. 34, l. 18 above. 6 *coronasque quae* V²**CRV** Oxf., *coronas quae* BC² (*c. quem* C¹), *coronasque* AEP. 7 *eaque, easque* Val. Max. 11 *pecunia edixisse* EV Oxf., *pecuniae dixisse* B¹, *pecunia dixisse* AB²CP**BHLO**. *a sacris* ACEPV Oxf. Sch. Mu., *sacri* B Or. Ba., *ex sacris* Heind. 12 *quicque* ABV², *quidque* V¹, *quanque* C, *quique* EP**B**, *quodque* **RV**, *quisque* Oxf. 13 *impietatem* V² Oxf. [ACEP], *impletatem* B¹V¹, *impleta temeritate* B², *impletam* **B**. 14 *fulmine* Oxf., *flumine* A¹V¹. 16 *atque, atqui* A¹B¹ Cod. Buslid. *ut tyrannidis fabula magnificum haberet exitum in Typanidis rogum* Ed., *in typanidis rogum* AEPV**M** and (reading *tip.* for *typ.*) Oxf., *in tyrannidis rogum* B Pal. 3 Moser's DH Victorius Herv., *in timpanidis rogum* C and **B** (reading *tymp.* for *timp.*), *in timp. rogo* **C**, *vitimpanitis rogo* Reg., *vi tympanitidis rogo* Meyer, *et impunitus rogo* Sch., *in †typanidis rogum* Or. Mu., *in [tyrannidis] rogum* Ba. (taking *tyr.* as a gloss on *potestatis*), *ut ait Timaeus* (or *Timonides*) *rogo* Förtsch (referring to Plut. *Dion.* p. 974). 21 *recte* X**B** Oxf. + Or. Ba. Mu., *et recte* U**MRV** Sch. 24 *dissignata* AB Mu., *designata* MSS generally, Sch. Or. Ba.

factis praemia extent ulla nec supplicia peccatis, sic mundi divina [in homines] moderatio profecto nulla est, si in ea discrimen nullum est bonorum et malorum.

86 At enim minora di neglegunt neque agellos singulorum nec viticulas persequuntur nec, si uredo aut grando cuipiam nocuit, id Jovi animadvertendum fuit; ne in regnis quidem reges omnia minima curant; sic enim dicitis. Quasi ego paulo ante de fundo Formiano P. Rutilii sim questus, non de amissa salute. XXXVI. Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates, vineta, segetes, oliveta, ubertatem frugum et fructuum, omnem denique commoditatem prosperitatemque vitae a dis se habere; virtutem autem nemo umquam acceptam
87 deo rettulit. Nimirum recte; propter virtutem enim jure laudamur et in virtute recte gloriamur; quod non contingeret, si id donum a deo, non a nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti aut re familiari, aut si aliud quippiam nacti sumus fortuiti boni aut depulimus mali, tum dis gratias agimus, tum nihil nostrae laudi assumptum arbitramur. Num quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias dis egit umquam? at quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis. Jovemque optimum et maximum ob eas res appellant, non quod nos justos, temperatos, sapientes
88 efficiat, sed quod salvos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosos. Neque Herculi quisquam decumam vovit umquam, si sapiens factus esset. Quamquam Pythagoras cum in geometria quiddam novi invenisset, Musis bovem immolasse dicitur; sed id quidem non credo, quoniam ille ne Apollini quidem Delio hostiam immolare voluit, ne aram sanguine aspergeret. Ad rem autem ut redeam, judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam. Quamvis licet Menti delubra et Virtuti et Fidei consecremus, tamen haec in nobis ipsis sita videmus; Spei, Salutis, Opis, Victoriae facultas a dis expetenda est. Improborum igitur prosperitates secundaeque res redarguunt, ut Diogenes dicebat, vim omnem deorum ac

2 *in homines* MSS, bracketed by edd. after Bouh. 5 *cuipiam* CB Or. Ba., *quipiam* A¹B, *quippiam* A²V Oxf. Sch. Mu. 8 *P. Rutilii sim* A (*sim* in ras.) [P], *protulissem* CEB, *p. rutilium* Oxf., *p. rutili sim* BVM. 9 *atque*, *atqui* B². 25 *immolasse* PV Sch. Mu., *immolavisse* ABCEB Oxf. Or. Ba. 31 *ipsis sita* A², *ipsi sita* A¹, *ipsis ita* BCEPVB Oxf. +.

potestatem. XXXVII. At non numquam bonos exitus habent 89
boni. Eos quidem arripimus attribuimusque sine ulla ratione dis immortalibus. At Diagoras cum Samothracam venisset, ἄθεος ille qui dicitur, atque ei quidam amicus 'Tu, qui deos putas humana neglegere, nonne animadvertis ex tot tabulis pictis, quam multi votis vim tempestatis effugerint in portumque salvi pervenerint?', 'Ita fit', inquit; 'illi enim nusquam picti sunt, qui naufragia fecerunt in marique perierunt.' Idemque, cum ei naviganti vectores adversa tempestate timidi et perterriti dicerent non injuria sibi illud accidere, qui illum in eandem navem recepissent, ostendit iis in eodem cursu multas alias laborantes quaesivitque, num etiam in iis navibus Diagoram vehi crederent. Sic enim res se habet, ut ad prosperam adversamve fortunam, qualis sis aut quem ad modum vixeris, nihil intersit. Non 90
animadvertunt, inquit, omnia di, ne reges quidem. Quid est simile? Reges enim si scientes praetermittunt, magna culpa est; XXXVIII. at deo ne excusatio quidem est inscientiae. Quem vos praeclare defenditis, cum dicitis eam vim deorum esse, ut, etiamsi quis morte poenas sceleris effugerit, expetantur eae poenae a liberis, a nepotibus, a posteris. O miram aequitatem deorum! Ferretne civitas ulla latorem istius modi legis, ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset?

Quinam Tantalidarum internecioni modus
paretur? aut quaenam umquam ob mortem Myrtili
poenis luendis dabitur satias supplici?

Utrum poëtae Stoicos depravarint, an Stoici poëtis dederint 91
auctoritatem, non facile dixerim; portenta enim ab utrisque et flagitia dicuntur. Neque enim, quem Hipponactis iambus

2 *arripimus* A^{1}V^{1}BCEP**BO**, *ascribimus* A^{2}V^2 Oxf. **MNRV**. 3 *Samothracam* ABCV^1**B**, *samothracum* P, *samothraciam* V^2 Oxf. +, *somotraciam* E. 4 *ἄθεος* Manut. Mu., *atheus* MSS generally, Or. Ba., *atheos* Sch. *amicus* om. A^1, in brackets Or. Ba. 6 *multi* [ABEV^2] Oxf., *multis* CPV^1 **BLO**. 14 *res se*, *se res* Sch. 21 *a nepotibus* [EPV]**O**, *ac nep.* ABC**BR** Oxf. *a posteris* [ACEP]B^{1}V^1**B**, *ac post.* B^{2}V^2**CRV** Oxf. 22 *civitas ulla*, *ulla civitas* Sch. 25 *internecioni* BC^{2}EPV**BR** Sch. Mu., *internicioni* A Or. Ba., *interlectioni* C^1 *internectioni* Oxf. **V**. 27 *satias* A^{1}BV^1**L**, *satietas* A^{2}CEV^2**BHC**.

laeserat, aut qui erat Archilochi versu vulneratus, a deo immissum dolorem, non conceptum a se ipso, continebat; nec, cum Aegisthi libidinem aut cum Paridis videmus, a deo causam requirimus, cum culpae paene vocem audiamus; nec ego multorum aegrorum salutem non ab Hippocrate potius quam ab Aesculapio datam judico, nec Lacedaemoniorum disciplinam dicam umquam ab Apolline potius Spartae quam a Lycurgo datam. Critolaus, inquam, evertit Corinthum, Karthaginem Hasdrubal. Hi duo illos oculos orae maritimae effoderunt, non iratus
92 aliqui, quem omnino irasci posse negatis, deus. XXXIX. At subvenire certe potuit et conservare urbes tantas atque tales; vos enim ipsi dicere soletis nihil esse, quod deus efficere non possit, et quidem sine labore ullo; ut enim hominum membra nulla contentione mente ipsa ac voluntate moveantur, sic numine deorum omnia fingi, moveri mutarique posse. Neque id dicitis superstitiose atque aniliter, sed physica constantique ratione; materiam enim rerum, ex qua et in qua omnia sint, totam esse flexibilem et commutabilem, ut nihil sit, quod non ex ea quamvis subito fingi convertique possit; ejus autem universae fictricem et moderatricem divinam esse providentiam; hanc igitur, quocumque se moveat, efficere posse, quicquid velit. Itaque aut nescit, quid possit, aut neglegit res
93 humanas aut, quid sit optimum, non potest judicare. 'Non curat singulos homines'. Non mirum: ne civitates quidem. Non eas? ne nationes quidem et gentes. Quodsi has etiam contemnet, quid mirum est omne ab ea genus humanum esse contemptum? Sed quo modo idem dicitis non omnia deos persequi, idem vultis a dis immortalibus hominibus dispertiri ac dividi somnia? Idcirco haec tecum, quia vestra est de somniorum veritate sententia. Atque idem etiam vota suscipi dicitis oportere. Nempe singuli vovent, audit igitur mens

8 *Karthaginem* see above § 42. 9 *Hasdrubal* **MR** +, *Asdrubal* X**B** +. 10 *aliqui* [ABCEV^1], *alicui* PV^2UT**MV** Oxf., *aliquis* **HR**. *deus* Lamb. with Reg. and Fa. of Moser, *deum* MSS generally. 17 *materiam* [BP], *materia* ACEV**B** Oxf. 21 *hanc* V^2 Oxf. [P], *haec* ABCEV^1**HBO**. 22 *neglegit*, *neclegit* A (and above § 89). 24 *ne civitates* edd., *nec civitates* MSS. 25 *non eas?* MSS Sch. Or. Ba., *non modo eas* Mu., *si non eas* Madv. 29 *dividi somnia* [ABCEP], *dividis omnia* V^1, *dividi omnia* V^2**MNCRVH**.

divina etiam de singulis. Videtis ergo non esse eam tam occupatam, quam putabatis? Fac esse distentam, caelum versantem, terram tuentem, maria moderantem; cur tam multos deos nihil agere et cessare patitur? cur non rebus humanis aliquos otiosos deos praeficit, qui a te, Balbe, innumerabiles explicati sunt? Haec fere dicere habui de natura deorum, non ut eam tollerem, sed ut intellegeretis, quam esset obscura et quam difficiles explicatus haberet.

XL. Quae cum dixisset, Cotta finem. Lucilius autem, **94**
Vehementius, inquit, Cotta, tu quidem invectus es in eam Stoicorum rationem, quae de providentia deorum ab illis sanctissime et providentissime constituta est. Sed quoniam advesperascit, dabis nobis diem aliquem, ut contra ista dicamus. Est enim mihi tecum pro aris et focis certamen et pro deorum templis atque delubris proque urbis muris, quos vos, pontifices, sanctos esse dicitis diligentiusque urbem religione quam ipsis moenibus cingitis; quae deseri a me, dum quidem spirare potero, nefas judico. Tum Cotta: Ego vero et opto redargui **95**
me, Balbe, et ea, quae disputavi, disserere malui quam judicare et facile me a te vinci posse certo scio. Quippe, inquit Velleius, qui etiam somnia putet ad nos mitti ab Jove, quae ipsa tamen tam levia non sunt, quam est Stoicorum de natura deorum oratio. Haec cum essent dicta, ita discessimus, ut Velleio Cottae disputatio verior, mihi Balbi ad veritatis similitudinem videretur esse propensior.

6 *ut*, *uti* B. 10 *in eam* CE, *ineram* (with *r* erased) A, *in eram* BP (supersc. *istam*) V[1], *in meram* V[2] Oxf MRV, *in aream istam* I, *in aeram istam* L. 12 *providentissime* [ACPV], *prudentissime* BE.

FRAGMENTA.

EX LIBRO DE NATURA DEORUM TERTIO.

1. Lactant. *Inst. Div.* II 3. 2. *Intellegebat Cicero falsa esse, quae homines adorarent. Nam cum multa dixisset, quae ad eversionem religionum valerent, ait tamen* non esse illa vulgo disputanda, ne susceptas publice religiones disputatio talis exstinguat.

2. Lactant. *Inst. Div.* II 8. 10. *Cicero de natura deorum disputans sic ait:* Primum igitur non est probabile eam materiam rerum, unde orta sunt omnia, esse divina providentia effectam, sed habere et habuisse vim et naturam suam. Ut igitur faber, cum quid aedificaturus est, non ipse facit materiam, sed ea utitur, quae sit parata, fictorque item cera, sic isti providentiae divinae materiam praesto esse oportuit, non quam ipse faceret, sed quam haberet paratam. Quodsi non est a deo materia facta, ne terra quidem et aqua et aër et ignis a deo factus est.

3. Maii vett. interpr. Virg. p. 45 ed. Med.…*apud Ciceronem de natura deorum LT, ubi de* Cleomene Lacedaemonio.

4. Diomedes I p. 313. 10 Keil. *Cicero de deorum natura tertio:* homines omnibus bestiis antecedunt.

EX LIBRIS INCERTIS.

5. Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* III 284. *Tullius in libro de natura deorum* tria milia annorum *dixit* magnum annum tenere.

6. Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* III 600. *Cicero* spiritabile *dixit in libris de deorum natura.*

7. Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* VI 894. *Per portam corneam oculi significantur, qui et* cornei *sunt et duriores ceteris membris; nam* frigus non sentiunt, *sicut etiam Cicero dixit in libris de natura deorum.*

l. 17. *LT*, so Mai, understanding it to mean *Liber Tertius*, but he is doubtful whether it should not be read IT (for *item*). Keil (*Probi in Verg. Buc. et Georg. Comm.* p. 95) has no doubt that IT is the true reading. As it is difficult to see the appropriateness of *item*, I should rather conjecture the numeral II or III. Or. Ba. and Mu. read *IT* without remark.

l. 22. *spiritabile*, *spiritale* Thilo and Hagen.

COLLATIONS OF ENGLISH MSS.

[*Reprinted from Vol. II.*]

As in my former volume, I have printed in full Mr Swainson's collation of the Burney MS (**B**), but have only given selected readings from his other collations, with occasional additions from my own inspection of the Museum MSS. I have also given the more important readings for O U and Y collated by myself, and a full collation of the Merton MS (called 'Oxf. o' in the former volume, here simply 'Oxf.'). I have further compared any readings of Orelli's or Heindorf's MSS which, without being of sufficient importance to print under the text, were yet of interest as throwing light on the relation between different MSS, e.g. between **B** and Orelli's C, between Cod. Glog. (**G**) and **H**, Cod. Red. and **N**, above all between Oxf. and Orelli's V. In all such cases I have printed the reference to the foreign MS in square brackets. For the sake of convenience I subjoin an explanation of symbols.

B. Burney MS no. 148, of the 13th century.
H. Harleian MS 2465, late 15th cent.
I. Harl. MS 2511, 15th cent.
L. Harl. MS 4662, late 15th cent.
M Harl. MS 5114, latter part of 15th cent.
N. Additional MSS 11932, middle of 15th cent.
O. Additional MSS 19586, end of 14th cent.
C. Cambridge MS 790 Dd. XIII. 2, 15th cent.
R. Roman edition of 1471.
V. Venice edition of 1471. $\mathbf{V}_1$. Corrections in the Grylls copy.
U. Codex Uffenbachianus, 15th cent., belonging to S. Allen, Esq.
Y. Another 15th century codex belonging to Mr Allen.
Oxf. The Merton MS of the 12th cent.

BOOK III.

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1 I. *inquit*] *inquid* **B** generally [Orelli's **A**^{1}]. *te*] *a te* **B**. *factu*] **LMO**,
2 *factum* **BCV Oxf.**, *fatu* **N**. *jocundus*] **Oxf. U** [Orelli's **CE**] *igitur*] **R**,
3 *igitur ego* **BHCV**. *mé*] om. **Oxf.** *Sic*] Lambinus, *sine* **B**, *sum* **HT**, *sed* **V**$_1$,
si **Oxf. L** others. *tecum*] *tectum* **Oxf.** *Qui*] *Quis* **H**. *Quia
mihi*] *quoniam mihi* **Oxf.**, *Quam mich* **C**, *quam mihi* **U**, *inquit Cotta* adds **R**.
subeat] *sibi habeat* **HLT**. *usum nullum habere*] **BM**, *nullum usum habere*
4 **HN**, *usum habere nullum* **IL**. *parum*] **LO**, *parua* **Oxf. BMCV**, text **V**$_1$. *sin*]
BO, *si* **C Oxf.** *causa*] *causam* **B**, after *refellendi* **C**.

5 II. *me*] *dicam* add **HR**. *caerimonias*] *cerimonias* **V**, om. **Oxf.** *sem-
per*] om. **UT**. *Ti.*] Manutius, om. **Z**, *t.* **O**. *Coruncanium*] **L**, *quorum
canium* **B**, *Coruncanum* **O**, *Conuncanum* **RV**. *P....P.*] *uel...uel* **RV**. *aut
docti*] *aut* om. **CT**. *C. Laelium*] **M**, *C. lelium* **OV**, *glelium* **B**. *in sacra*]
in om. **B**. *in auspicia*] *in* om. **RV** [Orelli's **E**, *in ospicia* Or.'s **AV**^{1}]. *prae-
dictionis*] **Oxf.**, *praedicationis* **B**. *monstris*] **Oxf.**, *monitis* **MCR** [Or.'s **V** in
marg.] *Sibyllae*] *Sibillae* **BC**. *haruspicesve*] *haur.* **B** [Or.'s **C**], *aruspi-
cinae suae* **H**. *ego*] **OM Oxf.**, *ergo* **B**. *nullam umquam*] *numquam ullam*
UT. *auspiciis*] *hausp.* **B** [Or.'s **C**]. *constitutis*] *institutis* **LUT**. *potu-
6 *isset*] **IV**, *potuissent* **BHLMNOCR Oxf. UT**. *nunc ergo*] **LM Oxf.**, *nunc igitur*
N, *ergo* (omitting *nunc*) **O**, *ergo nunc* **CU**, *nunc ego* Walker from Lactantius.
reddita] *redditam* **B**.

III. *fuit divisio tua*] *tua divisio fuit* **Oxf.** *ut*] *igitur ut* **Oxf.** *iis*]
7 *his* **RVU Oxf.** *quicque*] *quidque* **B**, *quidem* **R**. *id est*] *idem* **Oxf.**
exui] **CO**, *exuri* **BLM Oxf.**, *exire* **HNRV**, *eximi* or *erui* "alii" in Davies's note.
ipsum] om. **CVT**, rest. **V**$_1$. *quod*] *qui* **Oxf.** *maiorum*] *malorum* **B**.
cur a] *cura* **Oxf.** *sic*] *sit* **Oxf.** *ad hanc*] *hanc* **UT**. *et integrum
8 *discipulum*] *inquit et i. d.* **LV**, *inquit discipulum et integrum* **UT**. *egone*]
ego nec **Oxf.** *quod*] **Oxf. Z**, except *quid* **IV**. *perspicuum in istam
partem*] **Oxf. Z**, except *perspicuum in hanc partem* **I**, and *in istam...quod esset* om.

L. *esset*] **Oxf.** [Or.'s **BV**^{2}], *et* **B** [Or.'s **CE**], *est* **H** [Or.'s **AV**^{1}]. *perspi-
cuum*] *conspicuum* **IUT.** *posses*] **LO Oxf.**, *possis* **BH**, *posse* **V.** *onerare*]
honorare **H**, *conuenire* **I**, *honerare* **L**, *orare* **N.** *hoc idem*] *hoc quidem* **Oxf.**
ut] before *potui* om. **Oxf.** *qui id*] *quod* **BMOC Oxf. U**, *quid* **V**, text V_1.
altero coniveam] *altero* **C**, *altero tantum* **I**, *altero tantum contuear* V_1, *altero
contuer*] **N**, *altero contineat* **Oxf.**, *altero contm̄* **T**, *altero tm̄* **OL**, *altero contuear*
others. *assequi*] *asse qui* **Oxf.** *possim*] *possem* **HU.**

IV. *est evidens*] *evidens est* **Oxf.** *argumentari soleo perspicuitas*] om. **B.** 9
elevatur] **B**, *leuatur* **UTOMRV Oxf.** [Or.'s **BV**^{2}]. *contuereris* **UHMCRV Oxf.**,
contueres **B**, *contuleris* **I**, *contueris* **OLT**, *me tueris* **N.** *confidebas*] **O**, *consyder-
abas* **V**, *considerabas* **UT**, *confydebas* V_1. *velles*] **O** Ernesti, *uelis* **Z Oxf. UT.**
voluisti] *voluistis* **Oxf.** *sat*] **BOML** [Or.'s **X**], *satis* **HCRV.** *cum tua* 10
ratione contendere] *quam tuam rationem contemnere* **H** [Orelli's **P**]. *dubiam
facis*] *facis* **Oxf.** *regantur*] *regerentur* **HT.** *candens*] **Oxf. OM**, *cadens* **BN.**
eos] om. **C.** *grave*] **O Oxf.**, *gravem* [Or.'s **AV**^{1}], see § 83. *videbatur*] 11
uidetur **Oxf. C**, text **C**^{1}. *cotidie*] *quotidie* **HRV.** *opinione*] *opinionem*
Oxf. *dicatis*] *judicatis* **UT.**

V. *praesentes*] **LMBO**, *praesertis* **Oxf.** *Vatinius*] *uatienus* **BMCRUT**,
uagiens **H**, *uacienus* **V.** *Sagram*] **M**, *Sacram* **BOT**, *sectam* **L**, *sagaram* **U.** *tu*]
om. **Oxf.** *id est*] *uel* **B.** *eos tu*] **M**, *eosque tuque* **Oxf.**, *eos tuque* **B**, *eos-
que tu* **UTLO.** *cantheriis*] [Or.'s **BP**], *canteriis* **BHMV Oxf.** [Or.'s **ACEV**],
cauteriis **R.** *albis*] **M Oxf.**, *alius* **B**, *ab his* **LO.** *homini*] *hominum* **B.**
silice] *scilice* **B**, *scilicet* **Oxf.** *Regillum*] *religium* **Oxf.** [*regilium* Or.'s **APV**].
credis esse] **Oxf.**, *credidisse* **BHLOUT.** *mavis*] *maius* **UBHV**, text V_1. *probari*] 12
approbari **H.** *Tyndaridae*] *tandaridae* **B**, *tindari defuerunt* **Oxf.** *equitare*]
quitare **B**, *aequitate* **H**, *equitate* **Oxf.** *proferas*] **Oxf.**, *prosperas* **B**, *conferas* **H.**
ab A.] *ab Aulo* **HMCV**$_1$, *aulo* **Oxf. OBL**, *A.* **R**, *ab Aulio* **V.** *Postumio*] *postumo* 13
Oxf. *aedem*] *eadem* **Oxf.** *Vatinio*] **Oxf. B**, *uatieno* **C.** *Sagra*]
M Oxf., *Sacra* **BLO**, *aede sacra* **I**, *sacra aede*] **T.** *qui quae*] *quaeque* **MCV**, *qui
que* **T.** *Sagram*] **BM Oxf.**, *sacram* **O**, *facta sunt* adds **C.** *auctoribus*]
auditoribus **H**, *auctoritatibus* **Oxf.** *mecum pugnas*] *me oppugnas* **H**, *mecum
disputas* **LTU** (adding 'al. *pugnas*') [Or.'s **P**]. *requiro*] **LMO Oxf.**, om. **B**, *ex-
quiro* **C.**

VI. *sequuntur*] *secuntur* **L.** *enim*] *igitur* **H**, om. **Oxf.** *quidem est*] 14
est quidem **CRV.** *nihil* om. **N Oxf.** *ne spei*] *nec spe* **H**, *nec spei* **T.** *fato
fieri*] *esse fato fieri* **Oxf.** *ex omni*] *ex omnia* **B** [Or.'s **V**^{1}], om. **H.** *fuerit*]
est **Oxf.** *fatum*] *factum uel fatum dicatis* **L**, *fatum dicatis* **T** [Or.'s **P**].
Atti] **L**, *Acti* **M**, *actii* **CRV**, *attinavi* **Oxf.**, *antinavii* **T**, *natinavii* **O.** *Navii*]
ML, *naui* **B**, *Neuii* **HV**, text V_1. *commemorabas*] **M Oxf.**, *commorabas* **B**, *quem
comm.* om. **OL.** *qui*] **M**, *quomodo* **H**, *quia* **T**, *quid* **O.** *intellecta*] **M**, *in-
telligenda* **CRV Oxf.**, *intellecta* 'al. *intelligenda*' **U.** *sint*] **M**, *sunt* **TBHOCRV**,
om. **Oxf.** *discere*] *scire* **H**, *adiscere* **V**, *addiscere* **U.** *plurimis*] *in pluribus*
H, *pluribus* **UT.** *divini*] **HI**, *diuinis* **Oxf. UTO** others. *isti*] om. **I**, before
plurimis **CRV.** *mentiantur*] **C**, *mentiuntur* **Oxf. UTO** others, except *metiuntur*
N. *etiam*] om. **THR** [Or.'s **P**]. *Deciorum*] *deuotorum* **H**, *ditiorum* **Oxf.** 15
placari] **LMO**, *placere* **B.** *populo Romano*] *R. p.* **Oxf.** *imperatorium*] **BL**,
imperatorum **IMRV Oxf.** *στρατήγημα*] *strategema* **Z Oxf.** *imperatorum*]

OL, *imperatorium* **B**. *patriae*] *ut patriae* **HNRV**. *fore ut*] *foret* **Oxf.**, *forte* **T**. *hostem*] *hostes* **RV**. *immittentem*] *imminentem* **Oxf.**, *imitantem* **T**. *tibi*] **BM**, *tu* **HTO**. *audiuisse*] *audisse* **H** [Or.'s **P**], see Quintil. I. 6. 17.

VII. *est*] *cum* **Oxf.** *Balbe*] *bella* **B**. *nihil*] [Or.'s **BV**], *nil* **HUT**
16 [Or.'s **AEP**], *michi* [Or.'s **C**], *nichil* **B**. *Cleanthes ut dicebas*] *ut cleantes ut* *dicebant* **Oxf.** *animis*] *animos* **B**. *is*] [Or.'s V^2], *his* **Oxf.** [Or.'s V^1], *hiis* **C**, *ex iis* V_1, [*ex his* Or.'s **B**]. *percipimus*] *percepimus* **V** [Or.'s **P**]. *caelique*] *caelestique* **VU**. *et terrenis*] *et in terrenis* **Oxf.** *cum ea fiant*] om. **H**,
17 *cur ea fiant* **U**. *a te*] *cum pulchritudine mundi* **Oxf.** (from below). *aiebas*]
18 *agebas* **Oxf.** *quoniam*] *quoniam si* **T** [Or.'s B^2E]. *in rerum—esse aliquid*] om. **Oxf.** *quod*] *quo* **B**. *esse*] *esset* **VT**. *Zenonisque*] *Canonisque* **N**, *zenonis qui* **Oxf.** *quaerentur*] **Oxf.** *quaeretur* **HRV**. *omniaque*] *omnia* **MT**.

19 VIII. *tu*] om. **OL**. *maximae res tacitae*] *m. restatice* **Oxf.**, *maxime res tacite* **BM**, *res maxime tacite* **OL**. *strictim*] *fructum* **Oxf.** *ea*] **Oxf.**, superscr. **O**, om. **B** [Or.'s **CE**]. *separantur*] *sequestrantur* **ITOL** [Or.'s **P**]. *quattuor*
20 *in*] *in quattuor* **BC** [Or.'s C^2E]. *primaque*] *prima quidem* **UMRV**, *prima quae* **T** [Or.'s **A**]. *velles*] **Oxf.**, *uelis* **BH**. *di essent*] *dicerentur* **Oxf.** *ostenderes*] *ostendere* **B**, *ut ostenderem* **T**, [*ut ostenderes* Or.'s B^2]. *enim*] **M Oxf.**, om. **BUO**. *non dubitabas quin mundus esset deus*] om. **B**, and (except *deus*) **H**. *quo*] *quod* **Oxf.** RV_1, *qui* **V**. *nihil in rerum natura melius esset*] om. **B**.
21 *mundo*] *multo* **B**, *in mondo* **H**. *quid dicis melius*] *quid dices melius* **HT**, om. **Oxf. MNCRV**, *quid doces melius* UV_1. *sin*] *si* **Asc.** *sevocare*] *reuocare* **ILT**, *euocare* **Oxf. MCRV**, *auocare* V_1. *sevoco*] *semoto* **H**, *euoco* **MCRV Oxf.**, *revoco* **ILT**. *comprehendere*] *comprendere* **V**, [*compraendere* Or.'s **A**].

22 IX. *sensus*] **Oxf.**, *sensu* **BM**, om. **H**. *et ut*] *et* om. **B**. *dilatavit*] *dubitavit* **O**. *Zeno*] *Zenon* **L**. *enim*] om. **B**. *id melius*] **Oxf.**, *id* om. **MRV**, rest. V_1. *iam*] *etiam* **B**. *litteratum*] *litterarum* (twice) **B**. *id est...*
23 *litteratum*] om. **H**, for *est*, *esse* **RVU**. *omni*] *omnino* **B**. *philosophus*] **BHILOT**, *erit mundus* add **MNCRV Oxf. U**. *saepe*] *saepe enim* UHV_1. *dixti*] *dixi* **TU Oxf. BHILMNORV**, *dixisti* CV_1. *nisi ex eo*] *sine deo* **Z Oxf.**, except *sine mundo* **R**. *illam*] *ullam* **Z Oxf.** *dissimilia*] *dissimillima* **NVT**. *posset*] *possit* **HCT**. *fidicinem*] *fidicinam* **C**, *tibicenem* **N**, *fiduciorem* **Oxf.** *et tubicinem* **B Oxf.**, *et tibicinem* **HIORV**, om. **L**, *et tibiicinem* **M**, *et tibicem* **N**. *ne cur*] *nec cur* **BMCRV Oxf. UT**. *nobis nihil*] *nihil nobis* **CRVU**. *ornatius*] *pulchrius* **Oxf.** *ne*] *nec* **Oxf. UT**. *reponebas*] *reponendas uoluisti* **N Red.**
24 *non*] om. **H**. *habent*] **BO**, *h. uel seruant* **UMCV Oxf. Hervag**, *h. uel conservant* **N Red.** *ea deo*] *adeo* **B**.

X. *Quid*] *Qui* **B**. *Chalcidico*] *calc.* **B**, *chachidico* **C**. *fieri posse*] *esse* **N Red.**, *fieri potuisse* **T**. *Siciliensi*] *siciliensi* **V**. *Oceani*] *creaui* **I**, *occeani* **C**, *doceam* **Oxf.** *Libyamque*] *libiamque* **BC Oxf.** [Or.'s **ABCE**]. *vel Hispanienses*] *uel isp.* **B**, *vel* om. **C**. *Britannici*] *Brittanici* **B**, *Brittannei* **T**, [Or.'s B^1E, *Britanici* Or.'s **C**, *Brittannici* Or.'s AB^2V]. *certis...omniaque*] marg. only **M**. *vel accessus...temporibus*] om. **HL**, *vel* om. **C**. *nonne*] **MOB Oxf. U**, *minime* **N Red.**, *non* **C**. *motus*] *metus*, **U**. *quae*] om. **BC**. *ne*] *nec* **R**. *divinas*] *divinasque* **Oxf.** *sit*] *sic* **Oxf.** *reversione*] *con-*
25 *versione* **T**. *tanquam in aram*] om. **H**. *aram*] **BO**, *arenam* **Oxf. UMC**, *harena*

N Red., *harenam* **RV**, text V_1. *confugitis*] **HILNO^{2}CR**, *fugitis* **O^1**, *confugistis*
BMV Oxf. *concalluit*] *concaluit* **NV** [Or.'s **B**] Nonius p. 90, *concallivit* **Oxf.**
qui id] *quid* **BOH**, *quicquid id* **MCRU Oxf.** *melior*] *melius* **C.** *homini*
homini] *homini homine* **BC**, *homines hominem* **Oxf. U.** *quis possit*] *quid potuit* **H**,
quis potest **T.** *Idemque*] **M Oxf.**, *eidemque* **OB**, *ei denique* **T.** *at illud*] 26
[corr. ex *ad illud* Or.'s **V**], *et illud* **Oxf.** *et rationem*] *et rationem et orationem*
ILNVUTO. *Orionem* Cod. **B** of Baiter, om. **Oxf. Asc. ILNVUTO**, *orationem*
others (*oroem* in **H**). *caniculam*] *niculam* **B.** *esse*] **HLV$_1$** om. **Oxf.** others.
a natura] **Oxf. M**, *natura* **BO.** *conformatum*] *confirmatum* **Oxf. TBHLCV**,
text V_1.

XI. *animum*] **O**, *animam* **BMRV Oxf.** *si nullus*] *si nulla* **BV**, text V_1, 27
similia **O.** *mundo*] *deus* add **UHNRV$_1$**. *logici*] after *solem* **CUT.** *ad*] om.
Oxf. *harmoniam*] *arm.* **Oxf. BCV**, text V_1. *sunt*] *sint* **B** [Or.'s **C**].
cientis] **C**, *scientis* **O Oxf.** others. *mutationibus*] *agitationibus* **T.** *placebat*] 28
tacebat **B.** *oratio*] *oratione* **Oxf.** [Or.'s **V**]. *cognatione continuatam*] **BM**
Oxf., *cognationem continuatam* **R**, *continuationem cognatam* **O.** *non*] om. **B.**
probabam] *probem* **MC Oxf.** *probe* **V**, text V_1. *potuisse*] *non potuisse* **MCRV.**
contineretur] **B Oxf.**, *contineret* **O**, *continerentur* **TMRV**, text V_1. *permanet*] **O**,
pertinet **Oxf. U**, *permaneret* **Asc.** *quasi*] **Oxf.**, *quasi quidam* **UH** [Or.'s **V^2**],
quasi iste **O.** *quam*] *quem* **H.** *συμπάθειαν*] *synpathiam* **B**, *σημφαντημ* **L**,
sinphatian marg. **L**, *sympathiam* **RV$_1$**, *sympathiam aliam* **Asc.**, *simpatiam* **Oxf. V.**
carneades] *carnales* **Oxf.** *nullum esse*] *num esse* **Oxf.**

XII. *illa*] **BMO Oxf.** [*illam* Or.'s **A^{1}V**]. *quem ad modum*] **MO**, *quae* 29
ad modum **B** [Or.'s **V**], *quo modo* **C.** *distrahive*] **Oxf.**, *distrahique* **LMCRV**,
text V_1. *patiendi*] *partiendi* **B.** *omne animal...itidem si*] om. **MCR. Oxf.**
omne animal tale est] *etiam mortale animal nullum est* **N.** *tale*] Heindorf,
om. **H**, *mortale* others. *Ergo itidem*] *Et* **V**, *ergo identidem* **Red.** *accipien-*
dam] *accipiendum* **HG**, *capiendam* **LU.** *externam*] **Oxf.**, *aeternam* **BLCV**, *extre-*
mam **H**, text V_1 marg. **L.** *ferendam*] **MCRV Oxf.**, *fruendam* **BILT**, *fruendum* **H**,
referendam **N**, *ferundam* Klotz. *dissolubile* **Oxf.**, *dissoluibile* **B** [Or.'s **AC**].
nihil esset] **Oxf.** [*nihil esse* Or.'s **V^1**]. *aeris*] *aer* **B.** *igitur si*] om. **C**, 30
igitur **Oxf.** *e quibus*] **T**, *ex q.* **CV Oxf.** *cuncta...ex quibus* om. **H.**
esse] after *potest* **C Red.** [Or.'s **P**]. *iis*] **B Oxf.**, *his* others. *quin*]
Oxf., *quod non* **MCRVU.** *umor ita*] *humor ita*] **B** [Or.'s **X**], *ita humore* **O.** 31
mollis est] **Oxf. BM**, *molle est* **TO.** *comprimi*] **IOLU**, *praemi* **BMN**, *premi*
Oxf. HCV, *primi* **R.** *pulsu*] **BM**, *impulsu* **ILOV.** *naturaque*] *namque* **O.**
Praetereaque] **BMO Oxf. T**, *praeterea* others. *ex aere*] **Oxf. O**, *et cum ex*
aere **M**, *et exaer.* **B.** *commeant*] **Oxf.**, *comeant* **B**, *commoueantur* **H**, *com-*
moueant **N.** *intereunt*] **HILON**, *intereant* **BMCRV Oxf.** *e quibus*] **BR**,
ex q. **Oxf.** others. *constat*] **HILON**, *constet* **BMCRV Oxf.**

XIII. *omittamus*] *omm.* **B** [Or.'s **AC**]. *sensus habet—igitur animal*] om. 32
Oxf. *ullo*] *nullo* **C** [Or.'s **V^1**]. *et non accipere*] **ILNVU**, *et* om. **BMR**
[Or.'s **X**], *uero acc.* **C.** *Quod autem dolorem accipit*] om. **H.** *et quod* 33
ea sentiat] **Oxf.**, om. **OB** (Baiter *sentit* by misprint). *aeternum est*] *necesse*
est **C**, *est aet.* **TUV**, *appetit quaedam eternum est* **Oxf.** *refugit*] *refugitur*
O. *et quod est contra naturam*] om. **T**, [in marg. Or.'s **B**]. *esse*] 34

est **B.** *intereat*] *uitereat* **Oxf.** *etenim*] *necesse est enim ut* **CU**, *necesse est* **RV Oxf.** *calor*] *ut calor* **OMCRV Oxf.** *ut voluptas*] *voluptas* **Oxf. UTO.** *dolor*] *ut dolor* **MCRV Oxf.**, *et dolor* **UTO.** *ut cetera*] *et cetera* **MRV.** *sunt*] om. **B**, *sint* **H.** *interemunt*] **L**, *interimant* **MCR Oxf. U** (by corr. fr. *intereant*), *intereunt* **OT**, *interimunt* **B** others. *est sine...animal*] om. **H.** *animal aeternum*] *eternum animal* **Oxf.** *aeternum est*] *est aet.* **V** [Or.'s **C**].

XIV. *aut*] **BMO**, *ut* **R Oxf.** *ignea*] *ignea uel aerea* **L.** *animalis*] *aquatilis* **VU**, *animalis id est aeria* V_1. *umida*] [Or.'s **A**[1]**V**], *humida* **B.** *concretum*] *concreta est* **R**, *concretum est* Klotz. *vi*] *vis* **Oxf.** [corr. ex *ut* Or.'s **V**]. *feratur*] Lambinus, *efferatur* **Z Oxf. UT**, except *offeratur* **L**, *afferatur* **O.** *semper autem nullo modo possunt*] om. **T.** *est*] om. **Oxf.** *vestri*] *ad nostri* **Oxf.** *non omnes*] *non enim omnes* Vahlen. *uno*] *uno tantum* **H**V_1**U.** *qui*] **MU Oxf.**, om. **BOHT.** *quid*] **MO Oxf.**, *quod* **C**, [*qui id* Or.'s **A**[2]], *id* **V**, text V_1. *diceret*] **M Oxf.**, *d. quod* **BO Asc.** *noluit*] *uoluit* **HN Oxf.**, *noluit ut* **C.** *omnem vim*] *omnia unum* **MCR**, *omnium* **Oxf.** [Or.'s **V** by corr.] *igneam*] **L**, *vim* **O**, *ignem* others. *animantes*] *amantis* **Oxf.** *vigere*] **O Oxf.** [in ras. Or.'s **V**], *gingere* (*gignere*) **I.** *non intereant—cum intereant*] om. **Oxf.** *non intereant*] om. **N**, *non intereat* **V**, text V_1. *umore*] [Or.'s **AV**], *humore* **B.**

36 *verum tamen videamus exitum*] *uerumptamen v. e.* **BC**, *vide omnium animalium exitum* **O.** *vultis*] *multis* **O.** *animale*] Lambinus, *animali* **UT** (before *esse*) **LO**, *animal* **Oxf.** others, *animum* Walker. *extrinsecus*] **Oxf.**, *intrinsecus* Bouhier. *animal*] Lescaloperius, *anima* **Z Oxf. T.** *nisi ignem—esse animum*] **Oxf.**, [om. Or.'s **V**[1]]. *quiddam*] *quoddam* **B** [Or.'s **C**]. *atque*] *atque ex* **H**, *et* **Oxf. UT.** *anima temperatum*] *animantemperatum* **B.** *quod si*] *quid enim* **Oxf.** *ipse*] om. **BR.** *quoniam*] *quoniam cum* **B.** *Rursus*] *rursum* **B** [Or.'s **C**], *rursusque* **C.** *quicquid est*] *quod quidem* **B.** *venire*]

37 *pervenire* **T.** *pastus*] *pastu* **V** [Or.'s **C** by corr.] *ali*] *alia* **B**, *alii* **Oxf. UV**, text V_1. *aquis alia*] *aquis ali* **B.** *alia marinis*] *aliis marinis* **B**, *alia amaris* **I**, *alia maritimis* **N.** *causam*] *clausam* **B.** *Cleanthes*] *Cheanthes* **B.** *cur*] *quur* **B** [Or.'s **AC**]. *nec longius*] *ne longius* **B.** *orbi*] **Oxf.**, *orbe* **HNV.** *mox*] om. **Oxf.** *natura ignem sempiternum*] *naturam ignis sempiternam* **T.**

38 XV. *autem deum*] *deum* om. **L**, *dicunt deum* **MR**, *autem dicunt deum* **V**, *autem deum dicunt* **U.** *nos*] *non* **HMNR Oxf. T**, om. **CO.** *prudentiamne*] *prudentiane de* **C**, *prudentian* **Oxf.** *nihil est nec esse*] **B**, *nihil esse necesse* **Oxf. M**, *nihil esse nec esse* **O.** *quid huic...potest esse*] om. **L.** *dilectu*] **BLC Oxf.**, *dilecta* **I**, *dilectis* **N**, *delectu* others. *iustitia*] *de iustitia* **B.** *ad deos*] *ad eos* **H**, *a deos* **C.** *procreavit*] *provocavit* **Oxf.** *corporis*] *corporibus* **B.** *corporis...voluptatibus*] om. **H.** *est etiam*] *est etiam in* **Oxf.**, *et etiam* **C**, *non est etiam* **TV**, text V_1. *qui*] om. **BC** [Or.'s **C**], *quid* **H.** *in dolore an in labore an in periculo*] *delere an in periculo an in dolore* **L**, (and **OT** only reading *dolere* for *delere*, Or.'s **P** with *dolore* for *delere*), *an* (1st) om. **B**,

39 *in* (3rd) om. **Oxf.** *vero*] om. **Oxf.** *inscitiam*] **Oxf.**, *iustitiam* **HRV**, text V_1. *despicere*] *dispicere* **B.** *dicuntur*] **Oxf. O**, *dicitur* [Or.'s **V**[1]]. *in Graecia multos habent*] *Graecia multos habet* **UT.** *Alabandis*] Bouhier, *Alabandi* **Oxf. TZ**, except om. **C.** *Tenedii*] *Tenedi* **BMCRV Oxf. T**, *tenendi* **HILN.** *Tennen*] *Tenen* **BL**, *tenuere* **H**, *tenue* **N**, *Tennem* **Oxf.** others. *Leucotheam*] *leuchotheam*

B, leuchoteam Oxf., leucotoe H, leuconiam N, Leucothoam R, Leucoteam V,
text V_1. et ejus] ejus Oxf. Palaemonem] after filium C. nostri] M,
nostrum BLOCT Oxf. ascripticios] [Or.'s V], adscripticios [Or.'s AC],
adscriptios B.

XVI. vos philosophi] philosophi vos UT, enim phil. vos O. qui] quum H, 40
num R. sunt enim] enim sunt Oxf., sunt O. deus ipse mundus] mundus ipse
deus UT. illud] id H, illum UTO. sublime] Z, sublimen Scal., sublimem UT,
sublimum O. invocant] uocant H. eorum] om. B, illorum T. numeras]
numeratis HU. eosque] easque NVUT. appellas] appellatis HU. Capram
ut] Capram aut BC, capram U. Nepam ut] Ursinus, lupam ut Oxf. BLMCV,
lupam U, lupum T, lupum ut others. Taurum ut] taurum UT. inanimarum]
animarum B, inanimatarum Oxf. UTHLMCRV. nos] om. U, after sermonis T. 41
sermonis] B, sermone MCV Oxf. [Or.'s V corr. ex sermonis]. sed] set C.
ecquem] haec quem BM Oxf., mentem haec quem O, hunc quendam H, inter haec
quem UTLV$_1$, inter haec quintam N, eccum quem C, dic quem R, hic quem V.
putas] putamus B [Or.'s C]. dicis] dicimus LO [Or.'s P]. reddes]
BHLV$_1$, redde T Oxf. [Or.'s V^2] others. id] O, idem BMCV Oxf. non video]
ego non v. L, non intellego T. cui in] om. (lacuna) H. Oetaeo] BM, om.
(lacuna) H, meceo L, medeo T, metaco N, etheo CO, Oetheo R, aethneo V, "exem-
plar guerini habet oeteo" V_1. Oetaeo inlatae] metaoem late Oxf. fuerunt]
O, fuerint Oxf. BM. Accius] [Or.'s AB], Actius BCRV Oxf. [Or.'s V^2].
letius L, [accutius Or.'s V^1, aceius Or.'s C]. aeternam] aeterni C. apud
inferos] om. L, before Homerus C, after conveniri RV. conveniri] conuenire H.
Ulixe] Ulyxe R, Ulysse V. excesserant] Oxf. [Or.'s V^1 excesserat] vita
quamquam] BO, uix aliquem H, om. L, iuxta aquam N. quem] om. BHT. 42
colamus] colarnus Oxf. ii] hii Oxf. [Or.'s ABV], hi T. interiores]
antiquiores N. antiquissimum] Herculem add UTHNV$_1$. Iove natum]
Iouem natum IL Oxf. [Or.'s B], natum T. item Iove antiquissimo] ant. it. I. UT
[Or.'s P]. Ioues] iouis M Oxf. [Or.'s A^{1}BPV], plures Hercules adds N. Grae-
corum] graecum B, om. L. litteris] libris N. et] om. H. Lysithoë]
Creuzer, lysito B, lisico TH, licito U, lisito Oxf. OILMC, lisitto N, lysico R,
liscito V, lyscito V_1. is] his B, om. MR. Apolline] App. MCR.
accepimus] Oxf. [Or.'s V corr. ex accipimus]. aiunt] om. B, agunt L. Phry-
gias] frigias BC Oxf. Idaeis Digitis] Oxf., eis digitis H, Idaeis indigentis L,
ideis indigetis O, indeis indigitis U, deis indigetis NR, ydaeis indigetis TV,
ydaeis indigenis "exemplar guerini habet digitis" V_1. cui] cum H, cur (by
corr.) T. Quartus] UMOCRV, Cui quartus T Oxf. BHI, Cui quartus est L, Qui
quartus est N. Iovis est et Asteriae] asteriae est Iovis UT, est om. H, est Asteri
ex iouis I, est before Iouis CO. et Asteriae] CO, om. et Oxf. others. sororis]
filius adds C. qui Tyri...colitur] quem (quam N) Tirii...colunt UILONV.
Carthaginem] Cartaginem BMC, Karthaginem H Oxf. in India] in om. B,
ex India I, in media L, invidia Oxf. Belus] bellus HN. hic] hic est U,
hic qui T [Or.'s B]. Alcmena] [Or.'s X], Alcumena MV, Alcumenta C,
Corssen II. 131. ferunt] fertur O. Ioves etiam] etiam om. H, Ioves
esse L, etiam Ioues C, jovis etiam Oxf. [Or.'s V]. accepimus] Oxf.

XVII. deduxit] deducit (misprint) Klotz. maiorum] malorum B. 43
capeduneulis] pecudunculis B, capendunculis R. iis] om. Oxf. BHMCRV,

his UTILV_1, is N. quam rationibus] B+, [quam refersit rationibus
Or.'s C in marg.]. ei] eis B qui me] prime Oxf. deae?
si Nymphae] om. HT. Panisci] MO Oxf., panes BC, panisor L, Pana V,
Panasci V_1. et] om. TM Oxf. [Or.'s V]. deae quidem] Oxf., quidem deae
UTH, quidem om. I. igitur] om. UMCRV. At] om. H, ad [Or.'s V] Oxf. V,
text V_1, aut T. earum] dearum MRU. Ne ceteri] Oxf., Nec cet. BH,
igitur ne cet. CR, Quid igitur? ne cet. others, except N om. ne...dedicata. qui-
dem] om. H. ergo] om. MCR. deos numeras] C, deum n. others, after
porro in IOLUT. Orcus frater eorum deus] ortus sunt eorum dii H, for
Orcus, Orchus V, for eorum, earum V, text V_1. illi] illi fluuii C. fluere]
fuerunt H, fluunt UTOL [Or.'s P]. dicuntur] dicunt HN, om. LOUT [Or.'s P].
Cocytus] caythus B, cohatus N, cocitus Oxf., [cocythus Or.'s BCV]. Styx] om.
BMNOCUT. Pyriphlegethon] piri flegeton Oxf. BC, flegeton H, pirius flegeton
44 N, phlegeton RV. di] dii sunt B [Or.'s C]. id quidem repudiandum] hi
repudiandi C, id quidem repudiandi V, text V_1. Orcus] ortus H. igitur]
dicitur M, deus C. dicitis] dicam B, dicitur N. ergo] om. Oxf. Haec]
Oxf. [hac Or.'s V], hic H. aiebat] O, agebat BHMCRV Oxf. aiebat (2nd)]
agebat BM Oxf. [Or.'s V^1]. ii] hi BH, hii Oxf. negari] O, id negari H.
colunt ad occidentem] ad oc. col. UT [Or.'s P]. Caelum] Caelium MR. a
genealogis] a genealogiis Oxf. UT HMCV, age nologiis N. antiquis] om. H.
Dolus] Z, Dolor O Ernesti. Metus] UNCRV_1, modus TBHIL, et modus O^1, et
mondus O^2, motus Oxf. MV. Labor] before metus NO. Invidentia] In-
uidia HR. Querella] [Or.'s V^2], querela B Oxf. [Or.'s CE], quaerela V [quae-
rella Or.'s ABV^1]. Erebo] herebo C, natos erebro Oxf. natos ferunt]
ferunt Oxf. illa tollenda] t. i. UT.

45 XVIII. Aristaeus] Aristeus V [Or.'s ACV]. dicitur] after inventor VUT.
Apollinis] Apollini B. Theseus qui] BUT, teseus qui O, Theseusque MR Oxf.,
Theseus Davies from Cod. Med. reliqui quorum] reliquorum Oxf., reliquique
q. C. di...matres] om. R. matres] deae adds C. iure] Walker, in
iure Z Oxf. O. est matre libera] de matre libera est UTO. item] ita H.
jure] de jure UT. dea matre] BM, matre dea C, de dea matre OUTV, dea
matre quae Oxf. Astypalaeenses] astypalis non se B, om. (lacuna) H, asti
pallis in se M, astiphalis N, Astipalenses C, Astypalis Nisae R, Astiphalissa V,
astifalisa O, Astipalissea V_1, astipalinse Oxf., astipalisse UT. insulani] om.
(lacuna) H, insula NVUTO. sanctissime] B Oxf., sanctissimum HLOVT.
colunt] colit OV. Rhesus] hesus B, esus HI, estus T, eseus L, essus O (in
marg. museus), Theseus Oxf. UMNCRV. maritumae] maritandaene heae L,
46 maritumne O, maritimae hae T, maximae hae U. Si] Sed MR Oxf. honores]
Oxf. BO. immortalitatibus B, immortalibus LNOV. putas] putes RV,
text V_1. Hecatam] Hecatonam H, Hecatem MRV, etatem O, heccatam Oxf.
sorore] soror N [Or.'s P]. ejus] ei T. Athenis fanum] Oxf., atheis
fatuum (in marg. fanum) O, fanus B. interpretor] interpretator B, inter-
pretorum Oxf. lucus] Oxf. locus B, locos L, lucos O. Furinae Furiae]
Oxf., furmie furiae H, Furiaene UTIL, Furiae Furinae N. deae sunt] Oxf.,
47 desunt N, sunt deae UT. Natio] Oxf. BHLV, Nascio V_1 others, [ratio Or.'s V].
cui] cuius HV_1. circumimus] [Or.'s ABCV], circuimus BHMCRV Oxf. [Or.'s
EP]. in agro] magni B. Ardeati] Ardeatino LCVT. commemora-

bantur] commemorantur TO, commemorabuntur H [Or.'s P]. mens] mens et UT.
omniaque quae] O Oxf. nobismet] nobis ILO. ipsi] om. IOL, ipsis
Oxf. BUT others. possumus fingere] confingere possumus U, uolumus con-
fingere uel possumus IOLT. ne] nec VTU.

XIX. accipimus] B Oxf. U, accepimus ONV. cur] qur M. in] O, om.
HMRV, before eodem V_1 Oxf. Serapim Isimque] Oxf., S. hisimque B, S. ip-
sumque H, Seraphim Isimque I, Seraphin et signae L, Seraphim usimque N.
numeremus] numeramus C. cur] quur B, quum H. repudiemus] repu-
diem H, repudiamus C. et equos] Oxf. ibis] ibi B, ibes et UT. acci-
pitres] Oxf. B, ancipitres O. crocodilos] crocodillos BV_1, cocodillos Oxf.,
corcodrilos T, crocodrillos C, chocodrillos V_1. felis] LCR [Or.'s BV^1], faeles
[Or.'s C] BHN, faelis [Or.'s AV^2] M, phoenices O, pheles Oxf., feles [Or.'s E].
numerum] BMCRV, numero $HILNV_1$ Oxf. UT. deinde] demum HIVUT, dein 48
V_1. Ino dea] Medea HIVUT. ducetur] B, diceret I, dicitur C, dicetur
Oxf. UT others. et] Z [Or.'s X], quae Davies and other edd. Λευκοθέα]
leuchothea B, leuchotea Oxf. [Or.'s E], eulochorea (om. et) N, Leucothoa R,
leucotea V, leucothea others [Or.'s ABV], [Leucathea Or.'s C, lechothea Or.'s P].
Matuta] Oxf., matura B, natura IN. dicetur] [Or.'s X] om. L, dicitur R Dav.
Heind. Cadmi] eadem cadmi Oxf. Pasiphaë et Aeeta e Perseide] pasi-
phe et eace perside Oxf., pasiphe et e Perside T, Pasipheae et heae e Perside B,
Pasiphe et hesperidae H, pasife et erper:des O, Pasiphae et epside I, Pasiphae et
eperside L, Pasiphae et ceae perside M, Pasiphae et he hesperide N, Pasiphae et
cee C, Pasyphae et cee Perside R, Pasiphae et eee e Perside U, Pasiphae et hespe-
rides V, "exemplar guerini habet et aeaeae" V_1, Pasiphae et Aeetes e Perseide
Ernesti. filia] filiae TUBHLNV, filie nate Oxf. Sole] Oxf., solo UH,
solae M, et persida Oceani filia here C. Circen] Oxf., Circem BN. Cir-
celenses] Cercienses BC, Circienses RMV Oxf., circenses O. ducis] B, dicitis HG,
dicis Oxf. UT others. avis] annis N, vis Oxf. Oceano] occeano NC Oxf.
Aeeta patre matre Idyia] et a patre matridyla B [Or.'s ABCP], et a patre matri-
dila TLOMRV Oxf. [Or.'s EV], patre et matre H, et patre et matre N, et patre mar-
tigena C, et a patre matre dea UV_1, et a patre matre idyia V_2. est] om. H.
Absyrto] Absyrtio [Or.'s ACEP] $UBHV_1$, obsirtio Oxf. [Or.'s V^1], obscircio M,
abscisio T, ab sircio C, Absirtio V [Or.'s BV^2]. Aegialeus] argileus H, [egia-
levis Or.'s B], egialeus V, text V_1. usitatius] est us. HR. Ino] Iuno H,
uino I, homo N. Trophonius] triformis Oxf. in Boeotia] in Boetia 49
C Oxf. [Or.'s CEV], inbo etiam B. ullos] O. si sunt] sunt si B, si om. R.
hi] ii R. Erectheus] B, Ericteus H, aratheus M^1, eratheus Oxf. M^2, erateus N,
Erictheus COR, Eritheus V, text V_1. quid aut] quid autem UT. patriae
libertate] libertate patriae TU. memoriam] memoria B. Erectheus] 50
erecteus Oxf., eritheus T, ericteus O, aerictheus M. filiaeque] O, illi aeque B,
filiae hi aeque M, filie eque Oxf. Leontidum] V_1, Leonaticum Oxf. Z, ex-
cept Leonarticum H. Λεωκόριον] Clavel, Leochorion B, Leuconon T, Leo-
corion others. Alabandenses quidem] BM Oxf., alabandis is quem H,
alabandes is quidem O. Alabandum] Alabandi H. quos] nos B. non]
om. B. ut] om. Oxf. ei] eius B. molestus] Oxf., molestius BR
[Or.'s C]. esse confirmaret] confirm. esse UT.

XX. dea est] Oxf. [Or.'s V^2, deest Or.'s V^1]. errantes] om. Oxf. nume- 51
rum] naturam R. Arqui] OR, arcui Oxf., arei B, arcus UTHNV, anus I,

atqui **L**, *arci* others. *speciem quia causam*] **OUT Oxf. Z**, *causam quia speciem* V_1. *habet*] Ernesti, *habeat* **Z**, except om. **H**. *Thaumante*] *Thaumantem* **B**, *et athamante* **H**, *tamuante* **C**, *Taumante* **R**, *Thaumate* **V**, text V_1. *esse*] **Oxf.**, om. **CRV**, *Iris esse* Ant. Augustinus. *nata*] **O**, *natus* **C**. *Arcus*] *arquus* **R**. *coloratis*] Davies, *coloratus* **Z Oxf. O**. *centauros*] *centaurus* **B**. *rettuleris*] *retuleris* **BCRV**, *intuleris* **H**. *dei putandi*] *dei putandi sunt* **TH Oxf.**, *sunt dei putandi* **V**. *fluctibus*] *fructibus* **Oxf.** [Or.'s
52 **PV**]. *consuerunt*] **T**, *consueuerunt* **HLN**. *Iam*] *Tam* **BHMO**, *Tamen* **NV**, text V_1. *Sin*] **BL** [Or.'s **ABCEP**], *in* **U Oxf. HV** [Or.'s **V**], *ni* **M**, *nisi* **CR**, *Si* **O** Heindorf. *mare*] **H**, *mater* **Oxf. T BHLMCV**, *et mater* **I**, text V_1, *matri* **O**. *etiam quem*] *etiamque* **BC**, *etiam* om. **I**, *etiam et quem* **V**, text V_1. *Maso*] *Marius* **H**, *Marso marsus* **C**, *Marso* **UT Oxf.** others, *Naso* V_1. *in augurum*] *maugurem* **Oxf.** *Anienem*] **R**, *anemonem* **UT Oxf. BLNC**, *anemorie* **H**, *anenionem* **MV**, *Anionem* V_1 Heind., *Almonem* Ursinus. *Nodinum*] *nodutum* **H**, *adumen* **N**, *nodnium* **R**. *in inmensum*] *in* om. **B**, *immensitatem aliquam* **LUT**. *recipiemus*] **O**, *recipimus* **B**, *accipiemus* **MV**, text V_1. *horum*] **BHMO**, *eorum nomina* **O**.

53 XXI. *illos*] om. **Oxf.** *etiam*] *agam* **TL**, *agi etiam* **U**, om. **C**. *ii*] *hi* **TH**, *duos* (*ii* being read as a numeral) **UMCRV**$_1$, om. **Oxf.** *Arcadia*] *Archadia* **C Oxf.** [Or.'s **EV**], *ex archadiam* **O**. *patre Aethere*] *p. aetherae* **B**, *de patre* **O**. *Caelo*] *Caelio* **UT**. *Minervam*] *iniveram* **Oxf.** *Cretensem*] *cretens est* **B**. Διόσκουροι] *Dioscorte* **B Oxf.**, *Dioscoridae* **HLV**, *dioscoridem* **T**, *vistoride* **I**, *Dioscorce* **M**, *discordiae* **N**, *Dyoscori* **C**, *Dioscuroe* **R**, *Dioscuri* V_1, *diescoure* **O**. *rege Jove*] *J. r.* **T**. Ἄνακες] Swainson, *anacthes* **B**, *anathes* **O**, *anacei* **HN**, *ana tres* **I**, *Anactes* **Oxf. MCRV**, *anaces* V_1, Ἄνακτες Clavel. *Tritopatreus*] **UT Oxf. MRV**, *Trito patreus* **B**, *Tricopateus* **I**, *Tritropatreus* **C**. *Tritopatreus...nati*] om. **HLNO**. *Eubuleus*] **Oxf.**, *eubules* **B**, *euboleus* **UI**. *Dionysus*] *Dionisius* **BC** [Or.'s **BCEV**], *Dyonysius* **M**, *Dionysius* **RV**. *duo*] **C**, om. others. *et Leda*] *ex Leda* **NV**, text V_1, *et ex L.* **UT**. *a nonnullis*] *an non nullis* **B**, *Antenulus* **MR**. *Alco*] **O**, *Aleo* **ILV**, *a leo* **N**. *Melampus*] *manelippus* **I**, *mencilapus* **L**, *malapus* **O**. *et Tmolus*] Davies, *Emolus* **TBILOV**, *ciuolus* **H**, *emollus* **N**, *Euiolus* **MR**, *evio lis* **Oxf.**, *Eureolus* **U**,
54 *et Emolus* **C**, *Eniolus* V_1. *filii*] **Oxf.**, *filius* **N**, [*fili* Or.'s **AV**^{1}]. *altero et Nedo*] Creuzer, *altero natae et* **B**, *alte nata* **H**, *altero nata et* **Oxf. TILMCV**, *altitonante et* **N**, *altero nata ex* **UR**, *altero et ex* V_1, *altero natae* Baiter omitting *natae* before *Iove*. *Thelxinoë Aoede Arche Melete*] *theixinone cede archemel et hae* **B**, *ethei none noe de archamelote* **H**, *torxineo est de archimelete* **I**, *teixinoe de archimelete* **T**, *teixinoneo edearche melete* **U**, *tersimeone de archimelete* **O**, *teixineone de archimenalete* **L**, *Theixinoneo Edearche Melete* **MR**, *eisimoneo edearche melete* **N**, *etheixinoneo et edearche et melete* **C**, *Thelximone edearche melete* **V**, *teximus eo ede arche melete* **Oxf.** *et Mnemosyne...tertiae*] om. **H**. *Mnemosyne*] *nemosine* **T Oxf. BMCRV**, *memorie* **N**, *Mnemosine* V_1. *tertiae*] Gronovius, *tertiae Ioue tertio* **UBMNCRV Oxf.**, *tertia a Ioue Terphopierie* **I**, *Tertio Ioue tertio pieriae* **LT** and (omitting 2nd *tertio*) **O**. *Piero*] **Oxf.**, *Pierio* **HV**, *pyerio* **N**, om. **T**. *Pierias*] *plerias* **B Oxf.**, *pilia* **H**, *pelias* **I**, *perelias* **L**, *proelias* **O**, *prelias* **T**. *et eodem*] **BHIV** [Or.'s **V**^{2}], *eodemque* **C**, *eodem* **Oxf.** [Or.'s **V**^{1}] others. *quo*] *quos* **B Oxf.**, *quod* **T**. *proximae*] **IM**, *maxime* **V**, *proxime* **O** others. *quia*] **Oxf.**, *eo quod* **MC**. *appellatum*] **BO**, *appel-*

latus **Oxf. MV.** *Hyperione*] *hyprione* **B**, *ex pione* **I**, *Hipione* **R**, *hisperione* **Oxf.** *Volcano Nili*] *uolcanoni* **B**. *Heliopolis*] **Oxf.**, *el.* **B** [Or.'s **AC**]. *is*] [corr. fr. *his* Or.'s **V**], *his* **B**, om. **L**. *quem*] **Oxf.**, *qui* **LMCRV**$_1$. *Cercaphum Rhode peperisse dicitur patrem Ialysi Camiri Lindi unde Rhodii*] Swainson, *acantorhodi p. d. ialisycameri tinderhodi* **B**, (lacuna) *p. d. et alisi cameritinde rhodi* **H**, *a cantu redi se periisse d. Thalista meritui derthodi* **IT** (only that **T** ends with *tinderthodi*), *acantu redi p. d. thaliscei meritindetthodi* **L**, *acantii rodi p. d. talisca meritum tertodi* **O**, *Achanto* (*Athanto* **R**) *peperisse Ialysi Cameritinde Rhodi* **MRU** (only that **U** has *camerinde*), *achanto rodi p. d. yliasi chamerintide rodi* **N**, *dicitur genuisse achandorodi hialisi chameri tinderhodi* **C**, *a canto rodi p. d. ialysi cameritraderodi* **Oxf.**, *Achanto Rhodi p. d. Ialysi cameritinde rhodi* **V**. *quintus—fertur*] om. **Oxf.** *Colchis*] *colohis* **B**, *Cholchis* **C**. *Aeetam*] *etam* **BC**, *aeram* **H**, *oetam* **MV**, *aeream* **N**, *Oetham* **R**, *et amet* **Oxf.** *Circam*] **B Oxf.**, *certam* **O**, *cicam* **N**, *Circen* **R**, *circem* **V**.

XXII. *Caelo*] *caelio* **UT**. *Apollinem*] *dicunt Ap. natum* **C**. *Nilo*] 55
MRV, *in Nilo* **Oxf. TBIOC**, *et in* **L**. *Phthas*] *Opos* **B**, *Apis* **C**, *Opas* **Oxf. UTO** others. *esse Aegypti*] *egipti esse* **Oxf. UT**, *Aegyptii esse* **C**, *esse Aegyptii* **V**$_1$ [Or.'s **V**^{1}]. *traditur*] *fertur* **HN**, *dicitur* **LUT**. *Menaeno*] Swainson after Creuzer, *me malio* **B**, *Memalio* **HMRV Oxf.**, *menalaio* **L**, *manalio* **O**, *in emalio* **NC**,
Mimalio **V**$_1$. *Die*] *uia* **I**, *dia* **NOV** [Or.'s **P**] **UT** (the two last also put *natus* 56
before *Dia*). *obscenius*] *obscenis* **UT**. *Coronidis*] Davies, *foronidis* **BLOC**, *Phoronidis* **Oxf. HRV**$_1$, *feronidis* **M**, *phoroni diis* **N**, *pheronidis* **V**. *is*] **Oxf.** [Or.'s **V**^{2}], *his* **B** [Or.'s **BV**^{1}]. *idem*] *Item* **B**. *tertius Jove tertio natus*] *tertio jove tertius natus* **Oxf.** [Or.'s **A**^{1}]. *Maia*] *mala* **B Oxf.** *mola* **H**. *Penelopa*] **B Oxf.**, *Penelopana* **N**, *Penolapa* **R**, *Penolopa* **V**, [*Poenelopa* Or.'s **AV**]. *Pana*] **B**, om. **THLONC** [Or.'s **A**^{2}**P**]. *natum*] *natos* **C**. *ferunt*] *fuerunt* **B**. *nefas*] *nephas* **CR** [corr. from *nefans* Or.'s **AV**]. *Pheneatae*] *feneatae* **B Oxf.** [Or.'s **CV**], *finere* **H**, *fenete* **C**, *feneate* **V** [Or.'s **E**]. *qui*] *argentum inuenisse et* adds **R**. *Argum dicitur interemisse*] *interemisse argentum dicitur* **Oxf.** *Argum*] **BO**, *argentum* **HM**. *Aegyptum profugisse*] **B**, *Aegypto profuisse* **H**, *Aegypto praefuisse* **UTLONCV**, *Aegyptum praefuisse* **MR Oxf.** *Thoth*] *theyr* **BM**, *them* **THI**, *tem* **O**, *thein* **LV**$_1$, *thei* **N**, *their* **UCRV Oxf.** *eodemque*]
eodem **MCRV** [Or.'s **V**]. *Apollinis*] *Ap. filius* **C**. *Arcades*] *archades* 57
[Or.'s **V**] **Oxf. HCV**, text **V**$_1$. *specillum*] **Oxf.**, *speculum* **BUTNOV** [Or.'s **PV**^{2}]. *obligavisse*] *alligasse* **ILUT**. *Cynosuris*] **O**, *gynosuris* **B Oxf.**, *gignosuris* **C**, *ginosuris* **M**, *Cinosuris* **V**, text **V**$_1$. *Arsippi*] *arsipi* **B**, *Arisippi* **TV**$_1$. *Arsinoae*] *Ars filius* **C**, *Arsinoe* **V** [Or.'s **ABC**]. *alvi dentisque evolsionem*] om. **B**. *lucus*] **O Oxf.**, *locus* **H** [Or.'s **V**^{2}], *lucis* **N**.

XXIII. *Apollinum...Venere tertia* (60)] om. **L**. *is*] *his* **B**, om. **M**. *antea e*] [Or.'s **ABCV**] **Oxf. BMCR**, *ante e* [Or.'s **EP**] **ION**, *ante ex* **V**. *esse*] om. **B**. *Corybantis*] *chorib.* **BC**, *Corib.* **V**, text **V**$_1$. *Delphos*] *delfos* **Oxf.** *Νόμιον*]
nomonem **UH**, *monnonem* **I**, *Nomion* **V**$_1$, *nomionem* **T Oxf.** others. *pennatum*] 58
[Or.'s **BE**] **THC**, *pinnatum* others. *genuisse dicitur*] *genuit* **UT**. *notior*] *maior* **V**, text **V**$_1$, [*nitior* Or.'s **V**^{1}]. *accepimus*] *accipimus* **UT** [Or.'s **P**]. *tertiae pater Upis...Cupidinem secundum natum accepimus* (59)] om. **B** [Or.'s **C**]. *tertiae*] *tertia* **H**. *pater Upis*] **Oxf.**, *pater rupis* **H**, *patempis* **I**, *pater Opis* **V**$_1$. *saepe Graeci*] *Graeci saepe* **UT** early edd. *Upim*] *uperum* **H**, *iupiter* **I**,

Opim V_1. *Dionysos*] *dionysios* **THV**, *dionisios* **C** [Or.'s **E**], *dyonisios* [Or.'s A^2P]. *Nysam*] *Nisam* **Oxf. CV** [Or.'s **V**]. *Cabiro*] *ea primo* **H**, *Capro* **UMRV**$_1$, *Capreo* **N**, *Caprio* **CV Oxf.**, *capio* **O**, *caprino* **T**. *cui Sabazia*] *cuius abameas insti* **H**, *cuius Abazea* **IMR Oxf.**, *cujus abazia* **T**, *cuius ab area* **NC**, *cuius abarea* **VOU**, *cuius henazea* V_1. *Nyso*] Swainson, *Niso* **Z**. *Thyone*] *chione*
59 **N**, *Thione* **CR** [Or.'s **BE**]. *Elide*] *eli* **MV**, *Celi* **R**, text V_1, *eliatae* **O**. *Elide delubrum*] *elidulubrum* **Oxf.** *vidimus*] **O**, *uidemus* **UMN** [Or.'s V^1]. *Mercurio*] *mercurius* **Oxf.** *tertia*] *tertio* **Oxf.** [Or.'s **B**]. *Et Diona*] *et Diana* **BN Oxf.**, *a Diona* **C**, *et Dione* **V**, text V_1. *et Marte*] *marte* **Oxf.** *Anteros*] **Oxf. BO**, *ante ros* **H**, *Antheros* **V**, [*anteneros* Or.'s A^2B^2]. *Syria*] *Scythia* **H**, *Siria* **C**, *sirio* **Oxf.** *Cyproque*] V_1, *cyroque* **UBH**, *ciroque* **TICR**, *siroque* **Oxf.**, *Cyrroque* **MV**, *cirraque* **N**. *proditum*] *praedictum* **V**, text V_1, *traditum* **UT**. *apollinis*] **Oxf.**, *Apollonis* [Or.'s AV^1]. *Aegyptii*] *egiptiis* **B**. *Saitae*] *alete* **B**, *selatae* **TH**, *salete* **UMOCRV**, *solete* **Oxf.**, *sallete* **N**, text V_1. *quam*] *quae* **B**. *a*] **UTBO**, om. **Oxf. M**. *Coryphe Oceani*] *corufescem* **B**, *coru ferociani* **Oxf.**, *corrufice Oc.* **N**, *Corufe Oc.* [Or.'s **X**] **UC**, *Coruphe Oc.* **R**, *Coriphe Oc.* **V**. Κορίαν] *Corian* **BMR**, *corio* **N**, *Coriam* **Oxf.** others. *ferunt*] *nominant* **Oxf.** *Pallantis*] *palantes* **Oxf.**, *palantis* **UT**. *pennarum*] **C**,
60 *pinnarum* others. *qui idem est*] *quidem est* **Oxf. Z**, except om. **I**. *Anteros*] *antheros* **Oxf.**, [*anteneros* Or.'s A^2B^2], *antenneros* **O**. *atque haec*] *et haec* **Oxf.** *aliaque*] *atque* **Oxf. MCRV**, om. **UTBHIL**, *et* **N**. *non refellunt*] *non* om. **HLT**. *quicque*] *quidque* **B**.

61 XXIV. *Num*] *non* **H**, *nonne* **Oxf.** *huius modi*] **ILM**^{1}**N**, *eius modi* **BM**^{2}**CRV Oxf.**, *huius* **H**. *aut enim in nobismet insunt*] **Oxf.**, *in nobis autem insunt* **T** and (adding *met* before *insunt*) **LO**. *ut mens...optandae nobis sunt*] om. **LT**. *ut fides, &c.*] *ut* om. throughout **H**. *ut spes*] om. **CRU**. *ut salus ut*] *salus* **H Oxf.**, *et salus et* **O**. *rerum*] om. **MCV**. *utilitatem*] *utilitate* **MCRV Oxf.** *video*] *uidetis* **UHV**$_1$. *video etiam*] *video* om. **MCRV Oxf.**
62 *in eis*] **Oxf.**, *in his* **UT**. *explicatio*] **LMO Oxf.**, *explanatio* **BC**. *Exsectum*] **B**, *exectum* **L**, *eiectum* **N**. *Caelum*] *Caelium* **CRVU**, *Caelum—filio* om. **T**. *vinctum*] *uictum* **N**, *iunctum* **V**, text V_1. *ita*] **Z**, except om. **N**, *vos ita* Heind. from Cod. Glog. *ii qui*] **BO Oxf.**, [*hi qui* **UT** Or.'s **BP**, *ii quiqui* Or.'s A^1EV^1, *ii quiquam* Or.'s **C**]. *vortit*] *euertit* **THV**^{1}, *uertit* others. *minatur*] *minuatur* **LNT**. *quid Veiovi*] *quidne Ioui* **UHCV**$_1$, *quidue Ioui* **Oxf. MRV**, *quidne Iouis* **N**, *quid Jovi* **T**. *ductum*] *dictum* **BHT**. *magis tu mihi natare visus es*] (reading *videris* for *visus es* **UT**), *tu mihi magna narrare uideris* **L**,
63 *tu mihi uere uisus es* **N**, *tu mihi magis natare uisus es* **C**. *vocabulorumque*] **C**, *uocabulorum* others. *quique ita appellati sint*] **C** (except *cuique*), *quique ita appellatum sit* **B**, *quique ita appellant cum sit* **Oxf.**, *quisque ita sit appellatus* **H**, *quique ita appellatus sit* **L**, *quique ita appellantur unde sit* **M** (and **U**, only reading *appellatunde*), *quisque ita appellatus sit* **NO**, *quicque ita appellatur unde sit* **R**, *quique ita appellati sit* **V**, *quicque ita appellati sit* V_1. *atque*] *adque* **B**.

XXV. *non modo*] **N**, *non solum* **C**, *modo* om. **Oxf.** others. *ad*] *et* **Z Oxf. UT**, *et Orbonae ad* Manutius from MSS. of Maffæus and Sigonius and so the Bologna edition of 1494. *Larum*] *Larium* V_1, *larum est* **Oxf.** *Exquiliis*] **HLMO Oxf.**, *equilus* **B**, *esquiliis* **CR**, *ex quibus* **U**, "exemplar guerini habet *ex*
64 *quibus*" V_1. *a philosophia pellatur*] **M Oxf.**, *a philosophi appellatur* **B**, *a philo-*

sophis appellatur **HILONUT**, *a philosophis pellatur* Hervag. *et*] Swainson, *ut*
Z, *atque* Moser. *dicamus digna dis inmortalibus*] *dicali usu igna his inmor-*
talibus **B**, *dicali usu ignais immortalitatibus* **Oxf.**, *dicamus digna dis* om. (lacuna)
H, *dicali usu ignaris immortalibus* **TIL** and **O** reading *mortalibus*, *dicali usu loqua-*
mur **UMCR**, *dic alio usu igneis immortalibus* **N**, *dicali usu loquimur ignaris mor-*
talibus **V**, *dicali usu* is interpreted "more usitato loquendi ac uulgari" by V_1.
quod...quod] Ernesti, *quid...quid* **Z Oxf.** *autem*] *etiam* **MCRV**. *cum*]
om. **Oxf.** *per mare*] **O Oxf.**, *permanere* **B**. *pertinentem* **H**, *pergentem*
TLONV [Or.'s **P**]. *idem de Cerere*] *id detrahere* **H**, [*idem decedere* Or.'s V^1].
suspicione] *suspitione* **HIL** Baiter, so Fleckeisen in Plautus but see Corssen I. 56.
Itaque] *idque* **B**. *est*] om. **B**. *ut et esse*] **MOHL**, *et ut esse* **B Oxf.**
discere] *discedere* **B**, *disce cognoscere* **H**, *discere et cognoscere* **R**. *possim*] **Oxf.**,
[*possum* Or.'s **E**]. *quales*] **BO**, *quam quales* **RV Oxf.** [Or.'s V^2]. *eos*]
om. **R**. *deorumne*] **Oxf.**, *deorum* **B**, *an deorum* **H**. *providentia*] **M Oxf.**, 65
prudentia **TOB**. *consulantne di*] **BC**, *consulantne de* **OL**, *consulaturne* **MR**,
consulantne **H Oxf.** others. *partitione*] *participatione* **C**, *partione* **Oxf.**
vobis] *nobis* **Oxf. U**. *et iis*] **CR** [Or.'s B^2**CV**]. *ex his* **H**, *et his* **UT Oxf.** others.
fateare] *fatur a te* **O**. *nequaquam*] *nec* **ILT**. *istuc*] **M**, *istud* **HNO**.
istac ibit] *his tacebit* **B**, *ista haec ibique* **Oxf.**, *isthac ibit* **H**, *citabit* **I**, *ista citabit*
LO, *istaec ibit* **MV**, *is tacebit* **C**, *ista stabit* **T**.

XXVI. *An Medea*] Swainson, *Niobem* **B**, om. **H**, *An Niobe* **UTILV**$_1$, *an* 66
iobem **M**, *anioben* **Oxf.**, *aniobe* **O**, *molem* **N**, *Inobem* **C**, *anniobe* **R**, *a niobe* **V**.
parum] **LV**$_1$, *parumne* **Oxf.** others. *volt esse quod*] om. **Oxf.** *esse*] om.
BHMOCRVUT. *volt*] *uolo* **V**, text V_1. *ita dat*] om. **O**. *se res*] *feres* **Oxf.**
versus] *usus* **H**, *verus* **UT**. *Ille traversa*] *ille transfusa* **H**, *ille transuersa*
Oxf. ULMNR, *ille inquit transuersa* **C**, *illa tamen uersa* **V**, *illa transuersa* V_1.
mente] *in mentem* **HN**. *mi hodie*] **Oxf.**, *mihi hodie* **BHRV**, *hodie* om. **L**, *hodie*
michi **N**, *michi hodie* **C**. *pernitiem*] **Oxf.** *dabo*] *dabis* **B**, om. **T**.
luctum] *lucrum* **H**. *exitium*] **M**, *exitum* **BHLO Oxf.** *vos*] *nos* **B**. *Medea*] 67
itidem Media **C**. *ut*] om. **H Oxf.** *puerum*] *quercum* **Oxf.** *articulatim*]
particulatim **UTO**. *dispergit*] *dispargit* **MRV**, text V_1, cf. Corssen II. 399.
dissipatos] *disputatos* **B** [Or.'s **C**]. *ut*] *et* **UTHV**$_1$, om. **L**. *tardaret*]
traderet **LN**. *salutem*] *ipsa generaret* add **ILT**. *pareret*] **Oxf.**, *pararet*
MCRV, *praestaret* **U**. *ut*] *et* **B**. *ne ratio quidem*] *nec r. quidem* **MV**$_1$, 68
nec r. quid **V**.

XXVII. *inlexe*] *illexe* Or.'s V^2 **Oxf. HMO**, *illese* **U**, *illexie* **LT**, *ilexe* Or.'s V^1,
illesisse **N**, *illexisse* **CV**. *re in*] **Oxf.** [Or.'s **ABEPV**], *in re in* **B** [Or.'s C^1, *in re*
UT Or.'s C^2]. *coinquinari*] **O Oxf.**, *quo inquinari* **B**, *conquinari* **H**, *coinqui-*
natu **R**. *regias contaminari*] *regiam cont.* **Oxf. UIMRV**, om. **C**. *ac*
misceri] Ribbeck, *admisceri* **ZUT**. *At*] **Oxf.**, *Ad* **HLCT**. *id*] *id quidem* **U**.
caelestum] *scelestum* **HI**, *caelestium* **V**. *stabilimen*] *stabilimum* **H**, *stabili-*
mentum **NR**, *stabilimem* **C**. *Quem clam*] **UTR**, *Quem clari* **H**, *Quem dat* **N**,
quem dant **Oxf.**, *Quem dicunt* **C**, *Quendam* **BMO** others. *Thyestem*] *thiestem*
BV, *thiesten* **C**, *hyestem* **Oxf.**, *thyestes* **UT**. *clepere*] *depere* **BH**, *Cleopatra* **N**,
marg. only **C**. *ausum esse*] *esse ausum* **HN**, *aussum esse* **C**, *ausus est* **UT** (*est*
after *regia* **U**). *Qua*] *a qua* **UTBHLM**, *aqua* **Oxf.**, *esse aqua* **O**, *At qua* **R**.
in re] *inire* **U**. *conjugem cepit*] *adjungere tempus* **O**. *referta*] *referecta* **M**. 69

saepe] Manutius, *semper* Z Oxf. UT. *omnino*] *animo* B. *datam*] *natam*
HNT. *Ut*] om. B. *spe*] *spem* B, *saepe* H. *est*] Schömann, *sit*
70 Oxf. UOZ, except *sunt* H. *salutaris*] *salutaria* H. *tam*] om. UT. *iis*]
Oxf., *is* C, *his* V. *iis* [Or.'s C], *his* V Oxf. T [Or.'s BEP]. *ulli sunt esse*] M,
ulli sint esse Oxf. B, *uelis interesse* H, *ullis interesse* LT, *ulli interesse* O, *illi sint*
esse N.

XXVIII. *nemini*] *nulli* UT. *Quisquamne*] M Oxf., *quisquam* BH, *quis* TO
[Or.'s B^2]. *istuc*] *istud* Oxf. O. *nocere Deianira*] O, *n. demaira* Oxf., [*n.*
Dianae ira Or.'s B], *nocere de laniaria* L, *D. nocere* R. *cum ei*] O, *cui* B.
Pheraeo] *ferro* N, *phereo* V, *ferreo* O. *Iasoni is*] Oxf., *iason his* B, *Iasoni* HN,
Iason CO, *Iason is* R. *potuerant*] Oxf. [*-runt* Or.'s V^2], *poterant* CVT. *si*
71 *is*] *si his* B [Or.'s P]. *aut suscipitur*] Oxf. T, *aut scelus suscipitur* $UHRV_1$,
aut suspicitur C. *id est*] *uel* B. *vera*] *uera est* RV_1U. *a deo*] *adeo*
RV. *bonam*] *bona* B (T, which also has *ratio* and *bona* below). *nobis*]
vobis Oxf. *Non enim ut*] *non ut enim* B, *ideo ne sicut cui* H. *Quid*]
quin B. *potius*] *notius* M [Or.'s V], *nocuis* Oxf., *nocentius* C. *iis*] Oxf.,
is M [Or.'s B], *his* [Or.'s E] T. *his*] *is* C [Or.'s AV^1, *iis* CV^2].

XXIX. *Medea*] O Oxf., *Media* LN. *commemorabantur*] M, *commemora-*
batur Oxf. B, *commemorabitur* O. *heroicae*] Oxf., *haeroicae* V, [*hieroicae*
Or.'s V]. *inita subductaque*] Oxf., *uicta subductaque* UMR, *inita seductaque* N,
prouictaque C. *ratione*] *persona uel ratione* ILT, after *ratione* Oxf. inserts
72 from below *qui in amore—inopia.* *comicae*] MO, *comitiae* N, *comice* B.
saepe] Madvig, *semper* Z Oxf. after *Eunucho*, Oxf. om. *quid—redeam.*
vero] om. B. *Synephebis*] *sine febis* B, *sine febris* Oxf. *suave*] *si aue* B,
[*si avo* Or.'s C]. *in liberos*] *illiberos* B, *in libros* C. *nec amet*] MO Oxf.,
73 *necari et* B, *nec* om. H. *tui*] *sui* [Or.'s V^1] Oxf. UMCRV, text V_1. *fructu*] *fletu*
H. *avertas*] *aduertas* H. *nomen*] *numen* T. *parco patre*] Oxf., *patre parco*
CRV_1, *patre pareo* V. *dissipes*] BIUT, *dissipas* Oxf. others, *dissipis* O.
neque ut inde] *neque unde* BU^1T, *nec autem* H, *neque quid inde* Oxf. CR, *nec quid*
inde VU^2. *ad eum*] after *machinam* UT. *commoliar*] *commolior* [Or.'s P] O.
fallaciae] *facile* Oxf. *Phormio*] *formio* Oxf. *Cedo*] Oxf. om. B, *credo* T.
sunt mi] *mihi sunt* CRV, *sunt* TU. *consilia omnia*] *o. c. mihi* UT.

74 XXX. *sessum*] *sensum* BO. *it praetor*] *item precor* B, *ita precor* L, *in te*
precor O, *ite precor* MUT Oxf. others. *At id*] Schütz, *ad* Oxf. TBILOC,
a MRV, *id* Davies. *At id se Q. Sosius splendidus*] *assecutus Sosius* U, *asse-*
cutus festus H, *assequitur Q. S. splendidus* N. *Q.*] *Quintus* B, *quare* O.
transcripserit] Oxf. IMC, *transscripserit* BL, *transcripsit* HNU. *L. Alenus*]
lalenus B, *Lucius Alenus* O, *Valerius* H, *L. Aienus* MC Oxf., *Labienus* U, *L.*
Labienus R, *L. Aiemus* V, *L. Allienus* V_1. *chirographum*] *cyrografum* B
[Or.'s BCE], *cyrographum* Oxf. MRV, *cirographum* C. *homine*] *nomine* IL.
Tolosani] Oxf. [Or.'s EPV] HRV, *tolossani* B [Or.'s ABC], *tholosani* NC. *Iugur-*
thinae] *iugurtinae* BV Oxf. [Or.'s V]. *Tubuli*] *tribuli* UH, *tabula* N, *rubuli*
Oxf. *capta*] *rapta* Oxf. *iudicandam*] *indicandam* Oxf. U. *Pedu-*
caea tum] *peduceatum* C Oxf. *veneni*] C, *uenena* Oxf. UT others. *de fide*]
de ex fide LO. *tutelae*] BO, *ut utile* H, *tam utile* M, *tam utiles* Oxf., *et utile* N,
tum tutelae R. *fiduciae*] *f. id est depositi* L. *ex empto*] *exempto* RV
[Or.'s A]. *Plaetoria*] *letoria* $BLMOCRV_1$, *latoria* Oxf., *lectoria* INVUT.

everriculum] **BO**, *et uerriculum* **Oxf. UMCRV**, *uerticulum* **N**, *uerriculum* **V**$_1$.
everriculum malitiarum omnium] om. **H**. *Aquillius*] **B**, *Aquilius* **C**, *acquilius*
V. *a dis*] *odiis* **Oxf.** *sementim*] **B**, *seueritatem* **L**, *sñam* **Oxf.**, *sementem* 75
UT others, Corssen II. 223. *rationem*] *ratione* **Oxf.** *malitiam*] *malitia* **B**,
et malitiam **RV**. *facinus*] *facimus* **Oxf.**, *facinusque* **UT**. *illa anus*] *anus*
illa **Oxf.** *Caesa accidisset abiegna*] *caesae accidissent ab igne* **Oxf. BC**, *caesae*
occidisset **H**, *cecidissent abiegnae* **UO**, *cecidissent ab igni* **LT**, *caesae cecidissent*
abiegnae **MRV**, *sese cecidissent* **N**, *caesa cecidisset abiegna* **V**$_1$. *ipsi*] *ipsis* **B**.

XXXI. *gubernator vim*] *gubernatorum* **B**. *etsi hi*] **M Oxf.**, *et sibi* **B**, *et* 76
hii **B**, *etsi ii* **R**, *et si is* **O**, *etsi* **L**. *tamen*] *tam* **Oxf.** *si ista*] **Oxf.** [Or.'s
V^2, *sed ista* Or.'s **BV**^{1}]. *ais*] *animis* **T**. *dedisses*] **BO**, *dedisse* **H**. *qua*] *quia*
Oxf. *Phaëthontem*] *phetontem* **Oxf.**, *fethontem* **B**, *fetontem* **C**, *Phaetontem*
RV. *aut*] **Oxf.**, *aut ut* **C**. *Hippolytum*] *hyppolitum* **BV**, *ippolitum* **C**.
a] om. **B**. *Ut*] Davies, *et* **Z Oxf. UT**. *esset*] Madvig, *est* **Z Oxf. UT**. 77
Aristo Chius] *Aristo Cius* **B**, *Aristoycus* **L**, *Aristochius* **V Oxf.**, *Aristo Cous* **V**$_1$.
asotos] *afotos* **Oxf.** *acerbos e*] *acerbose* **Oxf.**, *accerbo seu* **B**, *a ceruo et* **C**,
acerbos et **URV**. *schola*] *scola* **CV** [Or.'s **EV**]. *philosophorum—qui se*]
om. **B**. *philosophos*] **O**^{1}, *philosophus* **O**^{2}, *philosophis* **Z**. *iis*] *his* **UTV Oxf.**
[Or.'s **P**, *is* Or.'s **AB**, *hiis* Or.'s **V**]. *rationem*] *ratione* **Oxf.** *illam*] **O**, 78
aliam **B Oxf.** *dari*] *dali* **B**. *meracius*] *inertius* **V**, *meratius* **V**$_1$ [Or.'s
AC]. *sic vestra ista*] *si curam istam* **B**. *providentia*] **Oxf. B**, *prudentia*
OR [Or.'s **V**^{2}]. *dederit*] *dederim* **B**, *dedit* **H**. *nomen*] *numen* Davies.

XXXII. after *philosophorum* om. *majus—ponantur* **Oxf.** *quibus*] om. 79
Oxf. MRV, rest **V**$_1$. *vos*] *nos* **B**. after *valere sic* om. *non—nemo*
sit **Oxf.** *Ac*] *At* **V**. *nimis*] om. **UT**. *Telamo*] *calamo* **N**,
Telamon **CV**. *locum totum*] *locum* om. **B**. *cur*] *ut* **B**, *quur* **H**, om.
C, *utrum* **UV Oxf.** *male*] om. **Oxf.** *sin*] *si* **H**. *bonis*] om. 80
H, *bonus is* **Oxf.** *duo*] *duos* **HCRV Oxf.** *Scipiones*] **Oxf.**, *sipiones* **B**.
Hispania] *hysp.* **B**, *Spaniam* **L**. *Maximus*] *Marius* **H**, *maximis* **Oxf.** *Han-*
nibal] **B Oxf.**, *Hasdrubal* **O**. *Paullum*] *Paulum* **B**. *Poenorum crudeli-*
tati] *c. p.* **UT**. *praebitum*] *proditum* **H**, [*praeditum* Or.'s **B**], *traditum* **C**.
vetera] *vera* **Oxf.** [Or.'s **V**^{1}]. *Drusus*] *drusos* **Oxf.** *Vestae*] *bestae* **B**.
est Q. Scaevola] **Oxf.**, *est quae Sc.* **B**, *Scaeuola est* **C**, *est Seuola* **V**, *est Quintus*
Scaevola **U**. *ante etiam*] *etiam autem* **C**, *etiam ante* **UTV** [Or.'s **P**]. *perfi-*
diosissimus] *perfidissimus* **N**, *perniciosissimus* **C**. *C.*] *G.* **N**. *Q.*] om. **B** [Or.'s
C]. *iubere*] *iuuere* **B**, *jubet* **Oxf.** *deficiat*] **H**, *deficiet* **LOUTBN**, *me deficiet* **C**. 81
minus si] **O**, *minus* **Oxf.** *commemorem*] *communi more* **H**. *Cur*] *Quur* **H**.
Marius] *arius* **B**. *septimum*] **M Oxf.**, *septimus* **B**, *septies* **THINOV**$_1$, *decies* **L**,
septimo **C**. *Cinna*] *cigna* **B**. *at dedit*] *at tedit* **C**, [*addedit* Or.'s **B**^{1},
addidit **B**^{2}].

XXXIII. *impedirique*] *impedireque* **B**. *cruciatu*] *cruciato* **B**. *sup-*
plicioque Q.] *supplicioque quo* **T**, *supplicio* **C**, [*supplicio quae que* Or.'s **AV**^{1}], *sup-*
plicioque **RV Oxf.** *Varius*] *Marius* **H**. *si*] **O**, *sic* **BMV Oxf.**, *sed* **UHLCRV**$_1$.
quia] *quidem* **T**. *ferro*] *febro* **H**. *Metellum*] *metallum* **H**. *poenas*]
poenis **B**. *quadraginta*] *xl* **RV**. *annos Dionysius tyrannus*] *Dyonisius*
t. annos **UTBILMC**, *annis D. t.* **HN**, *Dionysius t. annos* **Oxf. RV**. *opulentis-*

82 sumae] opulentis sumei B. multos] B, multas UTOLH. Graeciae] genere
LN. flore] om. L. At Phalaris] At phalatris B, ac Phalaris UTHRV,
ad falaris M [Or.'s V], text V_1, a. t. falaris Oxf. sustulit] tulit C, substulit
V. acerbe] Oxf. O, acra ui H, [acerue Or.'s APV^1]. Anaxarchum]
O, anxarcum B Oxf. [Or.'s ACE, anxarchum Or.'s V]. Democriteum] Oxf.
BCRV, Democritum [Or.'s B] LT, diometricum O, Democritium others. ex-
carnificatum] excarnificatos TL. Eleae] helene H, [elete Or.'s A], eluce cee O.
morti] mortem N.

83 XXXIV. Harpalum] C. harpalum B, arpalum O. felix] O, filica B,
summus $UHRV_1$, foelix I, fulia M Oxf., infelix panphilia N, in silua C, in Pam-
phylia felix Heind. fanum] phanum Oxf. secundissimo vento] secun-
dissime MV, secundissimum C, text V_1. cursum] cursu B. ridens] om.
RV. Idque] Lambinus, atque OUT Oxf. Z, except at quae V. qui cum]
MO Oxf., qui quod B. Peloponnesum] ML, peloponensum B Oxf. [Or.'s ABCV,
pelopemensum E], pelopensem O. detraxit] Oxf., [detraxum Or.'s V]. or-
narat] ornorat B. e manubiis] O Oxf., e manubiis is H, e manibus UIN,
e om. C, ex m. V. Carthaginiensium] Cath. B [Or.'s C], Cart. Oxf. [Or.'s V]
C, Carthaginensium V [Or.'s A, Karthaginensium Or.'s E]. Gelo] O, Hiero
IVUT. aestate] aestatae B. grave] grauem BTHOV Oxf. aptum] UM
Oxf., om. BHOI, aptius (after tempus) T. omne] Oxf., omni B. anni]
animi Oxf. diceret] deberet H. Aesculapii] MO, Aesculapi B. Epi-
84 dauri] BO Oxf., Epidaurei N, Epidaurii R. Idem] Iam Oxf. UBHMRV,
Idemque C, etiam Gulielmius, om. TO. auferri] Oxf., aufferri R, auferi O
[Or.'s BV^1]. cum] N, quod BOT Oxf. others. Bonorum] beatorum H.
pateras] patinas H. coronasque] CMORV Oxf., coronas B, et coronas H.
quae] om. OL. simulacrorum...sustinebantur] s...sustinebant O [Or.'s P],
simulacra...sustinebant TH. esse enim] enim om. MR. precaremur]
precamur B. ab iis] ab hiis Oxf. [Or.'s V, ab is A, ab his BEP]. haec]
haec omnia HR. edixisse] Oxf. dixisse BHLO. quicque] O, quique B,
quodque RV, quisque UV_1 Oxf. sacri] a sacris Oxf. ZO. ad impietatem]
Oxf., ad impletam B, quum adimpleta esset H, ad om. TLO, cum impietatem
fecisset N. adiunxit] BO, auxit C, [injunxit Or.'s C].

XXXV. tabescentem] tabescente B, intabescentem LTU. atque] Oxf.
in tyrannidis rogum] in Tympanidis rogum B, in timpanidis rogum T, in Tym-
panidis H, in Tympanidis regum I, in timpanidis regnum L, in tipanidis rogum
Oxf., in typanidis rogum UM, in timpadis rogum N, in tumpadis rogum O, in
85 timpanidis rogo C, "al. in tympanidiis" V_1. et recte] UMRV, et om. T Oxf.
BILC, recteque HN. esset] essent B. qua] quasi B. Ut enim]
HLBO, Et enim [Or.'s V^1] MCR Oxf., Etenim V, text V_1. ratione] Oxf.,
[rationem Or.'s A^1V^1]. divina] Bouhier, divina in homines Oxf. Z, except
86 divina et hominis I. di] diine B. agellos] aiellos L, angelos N. uredo]
urendo B. grando] Oxf., [glando Or.'s V^1]. cuipiam] TBO, quicpiam
M, quidpiam H, quippiam LU Oxf. others. id Iovi] ideo in deos H, id noui C.
ne] nec H. quidem] quia nec H. P. Rutilii sim HL, p. retulii sum O,
protulissem B, rutili M, rutilium Oxf. questus] Oxf., quaestus M [Or.'s AB],
conquestus UT.

XXXVI. hoc] haec UTHN, hic C. fructuum] Oxf., [fructum Or.'s A^1V^1].
id donum] Oxf., id om. MRV, rest V_1. aucti] acti Oxf. nacti] B, only 87
here. fortuiti] fortuitu B [Or.'s C]. tum dis] tamen diis C, [cum diis
Or.'s E]. nostrae laudi assumptum] a. n. l. UT, [n. a. l. Or.'s P]. um-
quam] magister N. At] aut H, ut Oxf. [Or.'s V^2 "eadem manu"]. in-
columis] incolumes B. et maximum] et om. V. ob eas] ab eas C, [abeas
Or.'s V^1]. decumam] decimam H. vovit] deuouit L, novit Oxf. esset] 88
essent] B. Pythagoras cum] Protagoras Oxf. in] om. B. quiddam
novi] quiddam nouum HN, noui q. C. immolavisse] Oxf. BCR, immolasse
OUT others. Apollini] apolloni B. Delio] Delphico H, [Deli Or.'s B^1].
hostiam] hostem N. sanguine] sanguinem B. petendam] putandam
Oxf. quamvis licet] B, quamvis [Or.'s V^2] Oxf. ULMORV, quamvis enim C, quis
T. Menti] nostra H. sita] ita BHMNRV Oxf. UT. prosperitate]
prosperitas B.

XXXVII. non] enim C. numquam] umquam B. bonos] bonus B. 89
boni] om. M. arripimus attribuimusque] HLBO, ascribimus attribuimusque
Oxf. UMNRV$_1$, attribuimus ascribimusque C, ascribimus attribuimus V. Samo-
thracam] B, Samocreta L, samocratam O, Samotraciam CV, Samothraciam U Oxf. V_1
and others. ἄθεος] atheus UTBRV, archeus H. atque ei] ait ei LUT,
ait eique O. quidam] O, quidem R [Or.'s B^2]. amicus] atticus UTIL,
ornatus Oxf., eticus O. multi] HM Oxf., multis BLO. tempestatis]
potestatis B. in portumque] importunumque B. fit] sit R. nus-
quam] miseria B. naufragia] naufragium V. in eandem] in in eandem
Oxf. navem] LO, nauim HN [Or.'s P]. ostendit eis] offendit ei L.
quaesivitque] quae sui atque B. iis] his [Or.'s BP] UT Oxf., [hiis Or.'s V^1,
is A].

XXXVIII. At deo] O, ac deo H, adeo L, [at deo with t in ras. Or.'s A]. ne] 90
nec B. poenas] poenam HC. expetantur] L, expectantur OH [Or.'s V^1],
expectentur [Or.'s V^2] Oxf. UTMNRV, exspectentur C. eae] haec H, heae C,
hac UTRV [Or.'s P]. a nepotibus a] ac nep. a B, et nep. ac C, ac nep. ac R
Oxf. B, a nep. ac V, a nep. O. civitas ulla] illa ciuitas HC, ulla civitas
UT. condemnaretur] condempnaretur C [Or.'s V^1]. avos] B, anus
others. Tantalidarum] tantaludarum B, Tantali datus H, tanta ludorum
I, Tantali N. quinam] quam Oxf. internicioni] internecioni BRV$_1$,
interemptioni N, interneconi C, internectioni V Oxf. paretur] pateretur Oxf.,
[pararetur Or.'s B corr. fr. paret]. mortem] morte B. Myrtili] Mirtili
BC, imquam L, Mystili RV, text V_1. luendis—poetis] om. Oxf. satias] L,
satietas BHCUT, societas N, sacietas V, saucias O. supplici [Or.'s BC], sup-
plicii BCLORV [Or.'s V, supplitii A, supplicy E]. et flagitia before ab utris- 91
que UT. dicuntur LO, $d\bar{n}\bar{a}$ ($d\bar{n}\bar{r}$) H, [om. Or.'s P]. enim quem] enim Oxf.
iambus] iambis BHC. continebat] continebit HN, retinebat L. Aegisthi]
Aegisti BC, egisti V, egisthi V_1, agesthi Oxf., [aegesthi Or.'s V^1]. cum] om. C.
causam] causa B. requirimus] requiri H. paene] om. B [Or.'s C],
poenae MV, [pœne Or.'s B]. vocem] a deo add UCRV (from above). ego]
ergo MCUT. Hippocrate] hyppocrate B, ypocrate Oxf. [Or.'s CE, ippocrate
ABV]. judico] Oxf. LO, [judicio Or.'s VP^1]. ab Apolline] ab oepolline B,
pocius ab App. C. a Lycurgo] a licurgo BV$_1$, a liggurgo C, Alycurgo R, a

ligurco **V**. *Critolaus*] *Coriotolaus* **N**, *Cryt.* **V**, [*critolavus* Or.'s **A**V^1]. *in-
quam*] *imquam* **B**, *nunquam* **N**, *inquit* **C**. *Corinthum*] [*corhintum* Or.'s **AV**],
Corintum **B**, *chorinchum* **C**, *Corynthum* **V**. *Carthaginem*] **RV** [Or.'s **ABV**],
Cartag. **B**, *chartag.* **C**. *Hasdrubal*] **IMR**, *Asdrubal* **BHV**, *Astrubal* **L**, *hanibal*
N. *duo*] *duos* **BV** [Or.'s V^2]. *maritumae*] *Mauritaniae* **H**, *maritimo* **L**.
effoderunt] *effodere* **R**, *effuderunt* **Oxf.** *aliqui*] **B**, *aliquis* **HR**, *alicui* **LMOV**
92 **Oxf. UT**. *deus*] Lambinus Cod. Reg. of Davies and Cod. Fa. of Moser, *deum*
Oxf. Z, except *diuum* **C**. *At*] *aut* **B**, **Oxf.** *certe*] *terrae* **H**, om. **C**.

XXXIX. *deus* om. **V**. *ut enim*] *et enim* **R**. *fingi*] **BO**, *figi* **MV Oxf.**
[Or.'s **V**]. *mutarique*] *mutari* **HLN**. *Neque*] *nec* **B**. *materiam*]
HL, *materia* **Oxf. BOV**, text V_1. *hanc*] **Oxf.**, *haec* **BHLTO**. *posse*] *potest*
93 **T**. *nescit*] *nescis* **B**. *ne*] *nec* **Z Oxf. T**. *eas*] om. **HR**, *aeas* **V**.
ne] *etiam* **HR**. *gentes*] **HR**V_1, *sentis* **BILMCCV Oxf.** [Or.'s **PV**]. *con-
temnet*] **LO**, *contemnit* **H**V_1, *contempnet* **C** [Or.'s **PV**]. *persequi idem*] **BO**,
persequi qui idem **UC Oxf.** [Or.'s V^2], *p. qui iidem* **RV**. *somnia*] *sompnia*
Oxf. BLO, *omnia* **HMNCRV**. *Idcirco haec*] *Idcirco haec omnia* **TH**, *iccirco
omnia haec* V_1**U**. *tecum*] *tactum* **B**. *suscipi dicitis oportere*] *d. s. op.* **C**,
s. op. d. **V**. *non esse eam*] *eam* om. **TCR**, *eam non esse* **V**. *Fac*] *facit*
MR, *fac ergo* **U**. *esse*] *curae* (abbr.) **Oxf.** *distentam*] *discentem* **I**, *dis-
tantem* **L**, *distinctam* **N**, *distantiam* **MCR Oxf.** *deos*] om. **B**. *praeficit*]
praefecit **CV Oxf.** [Or.'s **EV**]. *habui de natura*] *de n. habui* **B**. *expli-
catus*] *explicatis* **B**, *explicationes* **T**.

94 XL. *finem*] *fecit finem* **IUT**, *finem fecit* **MRV**, *f. fecisset* **C**. *Lucilius
autem*] *et L. etiam* **L**, *Lucilius Balbus autem* **N**. *in eam*] **B**, *meram* **H**, *in
airi* **O**, *in aream istam* **TI**, *in aeram istam* **L**, *in meram* **Oxf. UMRV**, "al. *in aram*"
marg. **M**, *contra meram* **N**. *providentia*] *provintia* **B**. *providentissime*]
BM, *praestantissime* **OL**. *nobis diem aliquem*] **Oxf. BV**, *nobis aliquam diem* **N**,
michi diem aliquem **C**, *diem nobis aliquam* **R**. *enim mihi*] *enim hoc* **H**, *enim
hic* [Or.'s **P**] **T**, *enim hoc mihi* **U**V_1. *focis*] *foris* **MV**, text V_1. *diligen-
tiusque*] *diligentius enim* **H**, [*diligentius* Or.'s **P**]. *cingitis*] **Oxf.**, [*cincitis*
Or.'s A^1V^1]. *deseri a me dum*] *de seria medum* **Oxf.** *spirare*] *sperare* **C**.
95 *nefas*] *nephas* **Oxf.** *nos*] *vos* **Oxf.** *ab*] **B**, *a* **HON** [Or.'s **C**, *ad* Or.'s **B**].
levia] **Oxf.**, [*levi* Or.'s V^1].

NOTES.

BOOK III.

ACADEMIC CRITICISM OF THE STOIC THEOLOGY.

Introduction. Cotta regards the Stoic doctrine as deserving of more serious attention than the Epicurean. For himself he is content to believe as his fathers did: if the Stoics profess to base their religion on grounds of reason, they must be prepared for criticism. I 1—II 6.

Ch. I § 1. **neque tam refellendi**: 'though not so much with the view of refuting you, as to ask for explanation'. For the adversative use of *neque* cf. above II 95 *nec tamen exissent;* I 107 *nec ea forma; Off.* III 7 *deinceps se scripsit dicturum, nec exsolvit quod promiserat;* Sall. *Cat.* 24 § 3 *aetas tantum modo quaestui neque luxuriae modum fecerat;* Nep. *Them.* 10 § 4 *ait morbo mortuum, neque negat fuisse famam venenum sua sponte sumpsisse;* Caes. *B. G.* VII 62 § 8 (*hostes*) *collem ceperunt, neque nostrorum militum impetum sustinere potuerunt* (which is contrary to Hand's rule that only the form *nec* is used by Caesar in this sense); Mayor on Plin. *Ep.* III 1 § 9; Hand *Turs.* IV p. 104, Draeg. § 318. 7.

suo cuique judicio: the boast of the Academics, cf. I 10.

id sentire, quod tu velis: 'to take the view which you would like me to take', see Roby § 1536.

§ 2. **nescis**: 'you can't think how eager I am to hear you'. For *cum* see Index.

§ 3. **sic mehercule**: 'yes, (I hope so) indeed, for I have a much more difficult task before me now'. Cf. *Phil.* II 44 *visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic, opinor,* with Mayor's n. Sch. quotes *Fin.* III 9, where see Madv.

qui tandem: *qui* is also found without the verb below, § 36 *qui magis* (*vultis*), § 40 *qui meliora* (*censetis*). Cf. Dumesnil on *Leg.* I 35.

pugnare: see I 75 n. and, on the question of the sincerity of Epicurus, I 85, 86, 123 with nn.

invidiae: cf. *invidiae detestandae gratia* I 123.

ludere: I 123 *ludimur ab homine, Tusc.* II 45 *nos ab eo* (*Epicuro*) *derideri puto.*

§ 4. **etiam si minus vera, tamen**: *Orat.* I 109 *non intellego quam ob rem, si minus illa subtili definitione, at hac vulgari opinione ars esse videatur; Phil.* II 78 *ut cognosceret te, si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum.*

apta inter se: cf. I 9 n.

cogito—refellere: so *Div.* II 144 *proficisci cogitans*, cf. *Att.* II 9 *Antium me cogito recipere*, Hor. *Ep.* I 2. 50, *A.P.* 144, Suet. *Ner.* 18.

de singulis rebus—an universam: the contrast between the two methods of argument, that by continuous speech and that by analytical cross-examination, and the preference of Socrates for the latter, is familiar to the readers of the *Protagoras* and other dialogues of Plato.

quae parum accepi: 'which I did not quite catch'. For the use of *acc.* see exx. in L. and S. s. v. II 2.

ego vero: 'to be sure'; so below § 5.

§ 5. **optime**: cf. below § 20 and Reid *Acad.* I 25 *bene facis.*

ducet oratio: Sch. compares below § 43 *deduxit oratio.*

Ch. II. **oratione—quae me cohortabatur**: for similar personification cf. below § 85 *invita in hoc loco versatur oratio.*

et Cottam esse et pontificem: cf. II 2, 168.

quod eo valebat: 'the point of which was' (lit. 'the force of which pointed in this direction'); cf. *Div. in Caec.* 62 *ista quaestura ad eam rem valet, ut elaborandum tibi in ratione reddenda sit;* Hor. *Sat.* I 1. 73 *nescis quo valeat nummus;* [Nipperdey on Nep. *Them.* 2 § 7 *hoc responsum quo valeret;* ib. 4 § 4 *hoc eo valebat ut cogerentur;* Quintil. I 2 § 16; in Pliny and medical writers *val.* is frequently followed by *ad.* J. E. B. M.]

opiniones, quas a majoribus accepimus: so Cic. in his own person *Div.* II 148 *majorum instituta tueri sacris caerimoniisque retinendis sapientis est; Harusp. Resp.* 18 *ego vero primum habeo auctores ac magistros religionum colendarum majores nostros; quorum mihi tanta fuisse sapientia videtur, ut satis superque prudentes sint, qui illorum prudentiam, non dicam assequi, sed quanta fuerit perspicere possint...deinde etiam cognovi multa homines doctissimos sapientissimosque et dixisse et scripta de deorum immortalium numine reliquisse: quae quamquam divinitus perscripta video, tamen ejus modi sunt, ut ea majores nostri docuisse illos, non ab illis didicisse videantur*, see the whole passage; also *N.D.* I 61, 62 nn., III 43, *Leg.* II 19, Liv. XXXIX 15 (the speech of the Consul about the Bacchanalia) *nulli umquam contioni, Quirites, tam non solum apta, sed etiam necessaria haec solemnis deorum comprecatio fuit, quae vos admoneret hos esse deos, quos colere venerari precarique majores nostri instituissent*, Tholuck on Heathenism p. 37 Eng. tr. in Clark's Cabinet Series. Though this *civilis theologia* had sunk into a mere lifeless profession at the time when Cic. wrote, and was therefore adopted as a convenient screen by the Sceptics (see the passage from Sext. Emp. cited on I 62) and treated with deserved contempt by Seneca ap. Aug. *C.D.* VI 10; yet to Socrates and even to Plato it was still a valuable support of religious belief. See Xen. *Mem.* I 3 § 1, IV 4 § 16, where Socrates bids his hearers follow the Delphic rule and worship

God in the mode ordained by the State (νόμῳ πόλεως), and the memorable vow in the *Phaedo* p. 118; and for Plato's own view *Leg.* 717, *Rep.* 427, not to mention the somewhat ironical passage in the *Timaeus* pp. 40, 41. We find Cotta's dislike of reasoning on religion, his patronizing of the old tradition, exactly reproduced in the 'Times' for Aug. 23, 1879. "Men of the world and especially statesmen are content to accept tradition as it stands, to treat it with the respect which springs from customary reverence and historic feeling; but any attempt to make it the subject of inquiry or debate, to change it in reference to this disputed doctrine, or to defiantly flaunt it as the symbol of that new-fangled opinion, can only inspire them with grave sorrow at the strange and distorted perspective of the theological mind." Precisely what Cotta might have said of any attempt to reform the religion of Rome.

Coruncanium: named along with Scaevola as a high authority in religious matters I 115, as especially dear to the Gods II 165. Cic. cites an opinion of his *Leg.* II 52.

P. Scipionem: the editors generally understand this of P. Scipio Nasica, cos. B.C. 191, surnamed *Optimus*, because he was deputed, even before he had held office, as the worthiest citizen, to receive the statue of the Idean Mother at Ostia. It would seem however that it is his son, P. Scipio Nasica Corculum, mentioned above II 10, who is here referred to. He became Pontifex B.C. 150 and is elsewhere described by Cicero as a master both of civil and pontifical law, see *Or.* III 134 *haec fuit P. Crassi... haec Ti. Coruncanii, haec proavi generi mei, Scipionis, prudentissimi hominis, sapientia, qui omnes pontifices maximi fuerunt, ut ad eos de omnibus divinis atque humanis rebus referretur*. The speaker here is Crassus; his son in law is P. Scipio Nasica, praetor B.C. 94, son of Nasica, who was consul B.C. 111, grandson of Nasica Serapio, the opponent of Gracchus, and great grandson of Corculum. (Optimus would have been not *proavus* but *abavus* of Crassus' son in law.) Compare also *Cato* 50 *quid de P. Licinii Crassi et pontificii et civilis juris studio loquar aut de hujus P. Scipionis qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est*, i.e. in B.C. 150, the date of the supposed dialogue, *Brut.* 79, 82. I cannot find anything to show that Optimus was distinguished as a lawyer. [Pomponius' statement to that effect (*Dig.* I 2, l 2 § 37) cannot be trusted, as he evidently confounds Optimus with a much earlier Nasica. R.]

P. Scaevolam: see I 115 n. Cic. reports judgments of his *Top.* 4, *Leg.* II 52, 53, 57, *Dom.* 137; cf. *Herenn.* II 19. He was father of Q. Scaevola mentioned below § 80.

habeo C. Laelium...quem audiam: cf. *Sest.* 20 *habeo quem opponam labi illi*, ib. *habebit senatus quem sequatur*. This is C. Lael. Sapiens, friend of the younger Africanus, as his father had been of the elder. He is named along with Coruncanius and others II 165, and is the chief speaker in C.'s dialogue on Friendship.

sapientem: 'a Stoic philosopher as well'; cf. *Lael.* 6 *te...non solum*

natura et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, non ut vulgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem; Off. II 40 *is qui sapiens appellatur.*

illa oratione nobili: the *aureola oratiuncula* mentioned below § 43. C. Licinius Crassus had proposed to transfer the election of the augurs from the College to the people: the proposal was thrown out owing to the eloquent speech of Laelius, then praetor (B.C. 145), *de collegiis.* Allusion is made to the same subject in *Lael.* 96 *illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum immortalium nobis defendentibus facile vincebat; R. P.* VI 2 *oratio Laeli quam omnes habemus in manibus* (*ostendit*) *quam simpuvia pontificum dis immortalibus grata sint Samiaeque capedines; Brut.* 83 *oratio Laelii de collegiis non melior quam de multis quam voles Scipionis.*

principem Stoicorum: Zeno is called *princeps investigandae veritatis* above II 57.

omnis populi Romani religio: on the triple division here given cf. *Leg.* II 30 *discriptio sacerdotum nullum justum religionis genus praetermittit. Nam sunt ad placandos deos alii constituti, qui sacris praesint sollemnibus, ad interpretanda alii praedicta vatum,...maximum autem et praestantissimum in re publica jus est augurum; Leg.* II 20 *sacerdotum genera sunto tria, unum quod praesit caerimoniis et sacris, alterum quod interpretetur fatidicorum et vatum effata incognita,...interpretes autem Jovis O. M. publici augures signis et auspiciis postera vidento* foll.; in *Harusp. Resp.* § 18 we find the third head subdivided, (*majores nostri*) *statas sollemnesque caerimonias pontificatu, rerum bene gerendarum auctoritates augurio, fatorum veteres praedictiones Apollinis vatum libris* (=*Sibylla* here), *portentorum explanationes Etruscorum disciplina* (=*haruspices* here) *contineri putarunt.* We find the same division in Varro *Antiq.* ap. Aug. *C. D.* VI 3, where it is said that Varro distinguished three classes of persons engaged in religious duties, treating (1) *de pontificibus,* (2) *de auguribus,* (3) *de quindecim viris sacrorum.*

tertium adjunctum sit: see Index under *asyndeton.*

portentis et monstris: cf. II 7.

Sibyllae interpretes: cf. II 10 n. The number of the keepers of the Sibylline books was originally two. In the year 367 B.C. by the Licinian Rogation they were increased to ten, of whom five were to be plebeians. Afterwards the number was raised, probably by Sulla, to 15, known as the XV *sacris faciundis.* Their duty was to interpret the Greek verses into Latin, for which purpose they were assisted in early times by Greek translators (Zonaras VII 7, cited by Marquardt *Röm. Alt.* VI p. 367), but more especially to find some meaning appropriate to the circumstances of the time. Cf. *Div.* I 4 *furoris divinationem Sibyllinis maxime versibus contineri arbitrati eorum decem interpretes delectos e civitate esse voluerunt;* Liv. X 8 § 2 *decemviros sacris faciundis, carminum Sibyllae ac fatorum populi hujus interpretes, antistites eosdem Apollinaris sacri...videmus;* Liv. XXII 9 *pervicit ut, quod non fere decernitur nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt,* X *viri*

libros Sibyllinos adire juberentur; Varro *R.R.* I 1 *ad cujus libros...publice solemus redire cum desideramus quid faciendum sit nobis ex aliquo portento; Div.* II 110 *quorum* (i.e. the Sibylline verses) *interpres nuper falsa quadam hominum fama dicturus in senatu putabatur, eum quem re vera regem habebamus* (i.e. Caesar) *appellandum quoque esse regem, si salvi esse vellemus;* see also *Cat.* III 9, 11, *Fam.* I 4 § 2, 7 § 4, Lact. I 6.

Romulum auspiciis: above II 9 n.; *R.P.* II 16 *auspiciis plurimum obsecutus est Romulus. Nam et ipse urbem condidit auspicato et omnibus publicis rebus instituendis qui sibi essent in auspiciis ex singulis tribubus cooptavit augures* (Numa increased the number from three to five, ib. 16); *Div.* I 30, II 70, 80.

Numam sacris constitutis: Liv. I 19 (*Numa*) *deorum metum injiciendum ratus est...sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit...pontificem legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit* foll., *Orat.* III 73.

fundamenta jecisse: for the belief that Rome owed her power to her religion, see II 8 n. and the speech of Camillus against the migration to Veii in Liv. V 52 *urbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam habemus: nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus;* ib. 51 *invenietis omnia prospera evenisse sequentibus deos, adversa spernentibus;* Liv. XLIII 1 § 11 *favere pietati fideique deos, per quae populus Romanus ad tantum fastigii venerit.*

placatione: cf. *Off.* II 11 *deos placatos pietas efficiet et sanctitas.* The word *placatio* occurs also in *Tusc.* IV 60, *Div.* II 36 *quae tam subito facta est deorum tanta placatio?* [Plin. *N. H.* VIII 70 § 183 *lautissima deorum placatio.* J. E. B. M.] and in Augustine.

§ 6. **nulla ratione reddita credere**: on the appeal to Faith v. Reason see below § 9 and § 13; Grote's *Plato* I p. 261. Lactantius II 7 cites this passage and argues against it. The Sceptics acted on Cotta's principle, as we learn from Sext. Emp. *P.H.* I 23 τοῖς φαινομένοις οὖν προσέχοντες κατὰ τὴν βιωτικὴν τήρησιν ἀδοξάστως βιοῦμεν, ib. III 1 § 2 τῷ μὲν βίῳ κατακολουθοῦντες ἀδοξάστως φαμὲν εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ σέβομεν θεοὺς καὶ προνοεῖν αὐτοὺς φαμέν.

Ch. III. **desideras**: 'what is the argument you are looking for from me'.

quadripertita: in II 3.

velles docere: 'you endeavoured to prove', so below § 18, implying that the endeavour was unsuccessful.

exspecto, quid requiras: 'I am waiting to know what it is you demand'. Cf. *Tusc.* IV 46 *exspecto quid ad ista (respondeas).*

A. THE STOIC PROOF OF THE DIVINE EXISTENCE CRITICIZED. Ch. III § 7—ch. VIII § 19.

a. *If this belief is necessary and universal, as the Stoics allege, it is worse than useless to attempt to rest it on argument, which simply raises doubts as to the validity of the belief.* § 7—§ 10.

§ 7. **primum quicque:** I 77 n.

si id est primum—doces: 'if the first point is that, on which there is almost universal consent, and which I for my part can never cease to maintain, viz. the divine existence, still even as to this, of which I am fully persuaded on the authority of our ancestors, you allege nothing to show why it is so'. On the adversative asyndeton (*mihi quidem* after *inter omnes*) see Index. On *esse deos* explaining *id* see I 2 nn. on *quod trahimur*, *quod continet*.

exuri: so MSS. The metaphor was thought too violent, and various emendations have been offered; (1) *eximi* mentioned by Dav., adopted by Ba. and Sch., who cites (*Opusc.* III p. 380) Tac. *Ann.* VI 22 *plurimis mortalibus non eximitur quin primo cujusque ortu ventura destinentur*, and by Cobet (*V. L.* p. 463), who compares Plat. *Rep.* III p. 412 E *δόξαν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας ἐξαιρεῖσθαι*; (2) *erui* by Walker, who compares *Att.* XIII 36 *fanum fieri volo neque id mihi erui potest* (where however Wesenberg reads *eripi*), and Lact. II 6 § 10 *omnes religiones radicitus eruisti*, where the metaphor is helped by *radicitus;* (3) *excuti* by Mu. after Ernesti and Lamb. as in *Tusc.* I 111 *hanc excutere opinionem mihimet volui radicitus;* (4) *exui* by Moser, Orelli, Klotz, &c., comparing Tac. *Ann.* VI 25 *vitia exuere*, to which Sch. objects that, though the word is naturally used of a man's putting off a bad habit for himself, it would not be Latin to say *vitia ex mente exuuntur;* (5) *exire* by Lamb. and Heind. who compares Sen. *Benef.* III 38 *numquam e memoria hominum exire*, but here we want to express something more than a mere passing out of the mind from forgetfulness; (6) Lamb. also suggested *exseri* comparing Colum. XII 58 *radicem exserito*, but there is no instance of the word used metaphorically in this sense. Of these emendations the first mentioned seems to me decidedly the best, but is the MS reading absolutely inadmissible? We have a similar expression in Dio Chrys. IV p. 152 *οὐδ' ἂν πυρί τις ἐκκαῦσαι βουλόμενος* (could eradicate principles once securely fixed in the mind), *ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐμπρήσῃ τις τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μένοι ἂν αὐτοῦ τὰ δόγματα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ*, and for the Latin we may compare *Aen.* VI 740 *aliis sub gurgite vasto infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni;* Dav. cites Seneca *Ep.* 69 § 3 *amorem exurere conatur*, where however Haase reads *exuere;* August. *Eccl. Cath.* 30 *tantus caritatis ardor innascitur ut exustis omnibus vitiis* &c., Ambros. *Spir. Sanct. prooem.* p. 115 *Caro Domini Spiritu repleta divino peccata omnia exureret.* The converse *inuro* is more frequently found in the metaphorical sense, as in *Planc.* 29 *signa probitatis inusta*, Liv. IX 3 § 13 *vivet semper in pectoribus quidquid praesens necessitas inusserit.*

quid est—cur: 'what reason is there for you to come to me for instruction?' Cf. I 115, and below § 47, also I 3 *quid est quod* n.

aggredior ad: I 57.

rudem et integrum: 'untutored and unprejudiced', cf. *Orat.* I 218 *eor* (*oratorem*) *nulla in re tironem ac rudem...esse debere; Att.* VII 25 *tmones ut me integrum servem.*

§ 8. **egone**: cf. I 16.

in ista partitione: cf. II 4 and 23. The MS reading *perspicuum in istam partem* probably originated in the insertion of *perspicuum* from the following line, and the loss of the last syllable of the abbreviated *partione* before the following *ne*. Ba. omits the words, but it seems natural to allude to the *partitio* mentioned in § 6.

dixisses—esset: Subj. as subordinate to Indirect Question, and *esset* also because it implies 'in your view' (ἄρα). [I should rather take *dixisses* to be Subjunctive because following *quod* in the sense of 'though'. See *Gr.* 1714. R.]

argumentis onerare judicem: 'to overwhelm', cf. 2 *Phil.* 99 *omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti*, Hor. *Sat.* I 10. 10 *verbis lassas onerantibus aures*.

eam facultatem = *ejus rei facultatem*; see n. on *quam similitudinem* II 27.

tu autem quod quaeris similiter facis: so all MSS; edd. read *qui id.* I prefer the former: the point is not the person, but the inquiry; 'as to your inquiry you are acting just as if you were to ask'. So Forchhammer p. 25. [Cf. below § 41 *quos dicis*, *Orat.* I 254 *quod dicis*, 246 *quod accusas*, 247 *quod putas*, and Roby §§ 1743, 1749. R.]

altero coniveam: the verb *con.* is most commonly used absolutely of the person closing his eyes in sleep, 'winking' in the old sense of the term; it is rare to find it with an abl. of the eye though Apuleius has *ciliis alterna conivens Met.* x 17. It is also used of the eye itself, as possibly in II 143.

Ch. IV § 9. **quam simile—tu videris**: see n. on *Cotta viderit* I 17; and cf. below 15, 70, 90, *Div.* II 108 *vide quaeso quam sint ista similia, nam mihi non videntur*. [So in Greek ὄψῃ, ὄψεσθε, σὺ (or αὐτὸς) ἂν εἰδείης, cf. *S. Matt.* XXVII 4, 24, *Acts* XVIII 15, Epictet. II 5 § 30, IV 6 § 11, Antonin. V 25, XI 13. J. E. B. M.]

evidens—de quo conveniat: 'palpable, self-evident, so that all are agreed about it'. The word *ev.* is still somewhat technical, and is not found in the speeches of Cicero.

perspicuitas: Cic. gives this and *evidentia* as alternative renderings of ἐνάργεια *Acad.* II 17, 46.

hac subtilitate sermonis: 'in a philosophical argument of this kind', see 'Abstract' in Index.

cur coniveres...causa non esset: there was a reason for not confusing what was self-evident by the addition of arguments, for ratiocination and intuition are diverse: there would have been no reason for refusing to look with both eyes, since they both tell the same tale.

obtutus esset: tense suited to context as in I 45 *cum aeterna esset*, see n. on II 2. For *obtutus* see *Div.* II 120 *quodam obtutu oculorum duo lucernae lumina pro uno videri*; *Orat.* III 17.

sapientem esse vis: see II 30, 36, &c.

lumina—perforata: 'lights (windows) pierced from the mind to the

eyes'. *Lumina* is technical in this sense, see Vitr. IV 6, *Pro Domo* 115 *se luminibus ejus esse obstructurum* [and regularly in the Digest, as in VIII 2. R.]. Hence often used for eyes, e.g. *Tusc.* V 114. Compare for the figure *Tusc.* I 46 *nos enim ne nunc quidem oculis cernimus ea quae videmus; neque est enim ullus sensus in corpore, sed, ut non physici solum docent sed etiam medici, qui ista aperta et patefacta viderunt, viae* (Aristotle's πόροι) *quasi quaedam sunt ad oculos, ad aures, ad nares a sede animi perforatae, ut facile intellegi possit animum et videre et audire, non eas partes quae quasi fenestrae sint animi...nunc quidem, quamquam foramina illa quae patent ad animum a corpore callidissimo artificio natura fabricata est*, 'still in the mortal body they are liable to be blocked'. This is attacked by Lucretius III 359 *dicere porro oculos nullam rem cernere posse, sed per eos animum ut foribus spectare reclusis, desipere est*, where Munro quotes Sext. Emp. *Math.* VII 130 on Heraclitus ἐν δὲ ἐγρηγορόσι πάλιν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων ὥσπερ διά τινων θυρίδων προκύψας (ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς) καὶ τῷ περιέχοντι συμβαλὼν λογικὴν ἐνδύεται δύναμιν, and ib. 350 οἱ δὲ αὐτὴν (τὴν διάνοιαν) εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καθάπερ διά τινων ὀπῶν τῶν αἰσθητηρίων προκύπτουσαν, ἧς στάσεως ἦρξεν Στράτων τε καὶ Αἰνησίδημος, and agrees with Lassalle in thinking that the illustration originally came from Heraclitus. The earliest statement of the doctrine which makes the mind the active agent in sensation, is the famous line attributed to Epicharmus (Mullach *Fr. Phil.* I p. 144) νοῦς ὁρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει· τἆλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά, quoted by Arist. *Prob.* XI 33 χωρισθεῖσα αἴσθησις διανοίας καθάπερ ἀναίσθητον πόνον ἔχει, ὥσπερ εἴρηται τὸ νοῦς ὁρᾷ κ.τ.λ. We find the same doctrine in Plato *Theaet.* 184 B 'if anyone should ask, how we see and hear' εἴποις ἄν, οἶμαι, ὄμμασί τε καὶ ὠσί, but we want something more exact, σκοπεῖ γάρ, ἀπόκρισις ποτέρα ὀρθοτέρα, ᾧ ὁρῶμεν τοῦτο εἶναι ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ δι' οὗ ὁρῶμεν, καὶ ᾧ ἀκούομεν ὦτα ἢ δι' οὗ ἀκούομεν; it would be strange if we had a number of independent senses, and if these were not all referred to some one form, whether we call it soul or not, whereby we perceive through the others as instruments (ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς μίαν τινὰ ἰδέαν πάντα ταῦτα ξυντείνει ἢ διὰ τούτων οἷον ὀργάνων αἰσθανόμεθα ὅσα αἰσθητά). Similarly Aristotle *Mot. Anim.* 6 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα (i.e. all motives) ἀνάγεται εἰς νοῦν καὶ ὄρεξιν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ φαντασία καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ νῷ χώραν ἔχουσι· κριτικὰ γὰρ πάντα. Strato, the disciple of Theophrastus, called attention to the fact that impressions of sense are unheeded, if the mind is occupied, but are sometimes capable of being recalled afterwards by a mental effort, cf. Plut. *Sol. Anim.* p. 961, where we have Strato's proof that οὐδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἄνευ τοῦ νοεῖν ὑπάρχει. Epicurus opposed this because he feared to allow any independent action to the mind; yet, as we have seen in I 49, he held that there were 'deiform' images which were perceptible by the mind alone. The Stoic view is given by Chrysippus ap. Gal. *Hipp. Plat.* 622 foll. ἡ ψυχὴ πνεῦμά ἐστι σύμφυτον ἡμῖν συνεχὲς παντὶ τῷ σώματι διῆκον... ταύτης οὖν τῶν μερῶν ἑκάστῳ διατεταγμένων μορίῳ τὸ διῆκον αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν τραχεῖαν ἀρτηρίαν φωνὴν φαμὲν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὄψιν. The five

senses were included in the eight faculties into which the Stoics divided the soul, cf. Diog. L. VII 110, Sext. Emp. *Math.* IX 102 πᾶσαι αἱ ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ ὅλου ἐξαποστελλόμεναι δυνάμεις ὡς ἀπό τινος πηγῆς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ἐξαποστέλλονται. These were compared to the arms of a cuttle-fish (*Plac. Phil.* IV 21). The ψυχικὸν πνεῦμα residing in the brain travelled along the nerves to the organ of sense and thus caused sensation; Plin. *N.H.* XI 54 *in oculis animus habitat...animo videmus, animo cernimus: oculi ceu vasa quaedam visibilem ejus partem* (the visual faculty) *accipiunt atque transmittunt* (according to the Stoic theory of the ἐκβολὴ *radiorum*, on which see II 83 *nobiscum videt* n.); Theophil. *Corp. Hum.* IV 8 foll. τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος νεύρου τοῦ ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου τοῦ μαλακοῦ ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ νεῦρα...ἐκπεφύκασι χορηγεῖν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν ὅρασιν. On the general subject compare Plato *Alcib.* I p. 129, Galen *Hipp. Plat.* 622 foll., Lact. *Opif.* 5, Salvian *Prov.* 3, Butler *Analogy* I 1 "So far as it can be traced by experimental observations, so far it appears that our organs of sense prepare and convey on objects in order to their being perceived, in like manner as foreign matter does, without affording any shadow of appearance that they themselves perceive"; Reid's *Philosophy* p. 246 with Hamilton's n. D*, Huxley *Elem. Phys.* p. 17 'the brain is the seat of all sensation and mental action'.

sat erat: see I 45 and I 19 *longum est* n.

auctoritates contemnis: as Cotta himself also, in his Academic capacity, professed to do, cf. I 10 *non tam auctores* &c. Cf. Plin. *Ep.* I 20 *ille mecum auctoritatibus agit.*

§ 10. **rationem me meam**: I have ventured to insert *me*, as it gives a more natural force to *contendere* ('allow me to put my argument side by side with yours'), like *Rosc. Am.* 93 *quidquid tu contra dixeris, id cum defensione nostra contendito: ita facillime causa Sex. Roscii cum tua conferetur;* and is perhaps better suited to *patere*. Otherwise we should have to give it a metaphorical meaning, as in *Rosc. Am.* 136 *quis erat qui non videret humilitatem cum dignitate de amplitudine contendere*, where however the abstract stands for the person contending.

argumentando dubiam facis: Sch. cites Proclus on Plat. *Tim.* p. 416 Schn. ὁ πάντα ἀποδεικτικὰ νενομικὼς αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἀναιρεῖ.

A b. *The sight of the heavens does not, as a fact, produce a belief in the Stoic God of nature.* §§ 10, 11.

haec: 'all we see around us'.

regantur: the Imperfect would have been more in accordance with usage, especially as *suspexissemus* has already been attracted to the tense of the principal verb, cf. n. on *obtutus esset* § 9, and II 1.

aspice—Jovem: see on II 4. I am glad to see that L. Müller rejects Ritschl's *sublimen*.

§ 11. **quasi vero—appellet**: 'as though any of us gave the name of Jove to him whom you describe as *sublime candens*, rather than to the God of the Capitol'. Traditional mythology supplied the conscious belief of the mass: so far Cotta is right; but the Stoics were right in regarding that mythology as itself bearing witness to an older belief out of which it had sprung. One chief source of that earlier belief in a superhuman Ruler was the sight of the heaven, its immensity, its splendour, its order, its terror; and so far as mythology was associated with the religious instinct, that old belief still survived under the forms of mythology: see passages quoted on II 4 *cum caelum suspeximus*, Seneca *N.Q.* II 45 *ne hoc quidem crediderunt (imperiti) Jovem, qualem in Capitolio et in ceteris aedibus colimus, mittere manu fulmina, sed eundem quem nos Jovem intellegunt, rectorem custodemque universi, animum ac spiritum mundi, operis hujus dominum et artificem;* and the grand words of Tertullian *Test. Anim.* 1 commencing *consiste in medio, anima...te simplicem et rudem et impolitam et idioticam compello, qualem habent qui te solam habent, illam ipsam de compito, de trivio, de textrino totam* foll. But 'men became vain in their imaginations and their foolish heart was darkened'; the ignorant Roman deified the image of Jupiter or Minerva, as his ignorant descendant in the present day deifies the image of a Saint or a Madonna. Thus it was thought that one image would be jealous of the honour done to another image of the same God, cf. Suet. *Oct.* 91 *cum dedicatam in Capitolio aedem Tonanti Jovi assidue frequentaret, somniavit queri Capitolinum Jovem cultores sibi abduci* foll., and Scott's description of Louis XI in *Quentin Durward*.

A c. *General opinion is a strange ground to allege for a philosophical conviction, especially on the part of those who hold the 'vox populi' to be the 'vox stultorum'.* § 11.

omnium esset: for the argument from general consent see II 5 nn.

opinione stultorum: cf. I 23, III 79, *Div.* II 81 *quasi vero quidquam sit tam valde quam nihil sapere vulgare, aut quasi tibi ipsi in judicando placeat multitudo;* Philodemus *de Mus.* in Zeller IV 253 'the Stoic cannot rely on the *Consensus Gentium*, as he holds the mass in contempt'. The argument is met in a different way I 62. We have the Stoic rejoinder in Sext. Emp. IX 63 foll. 'not only the mass, but the wise, the poets and philosophers, admit the Divine existence; and as, in debating matters of sense, we should trust the evidence of those who possessed the keenest sight and quickest ear, so in matters of reason we should trust the wisest'.

insanos: cf. *Parad.* IV ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται.

A d. *The 'epiphanies', to which the Stoics appeal, are mere rumour unconfirmed by evidence.* §§ 11—13 (cf. nn. on II 6).

Ch. v. **in Salaria**: in II 6 it is said that Vat. was coming from Reate to Rome. This agrees with Varr. *R.R.* III 2 § 14 *certe nosti materterae*

meae fundum in Sabinis, qui est ad quartum et vicesimum lapidem via Salaria a Roma? Quidni? inquit, ubi aestate diem meridie dividere soleam cum eo Reate ex urbe. It was the road by which salt was conveyed from the salt-pits near Ostia into the interior; hence called *Salaria.* The same name was given to the gate which was afterwards known as *Collina.*

nescio quid: a phrase of contempt, heightened here by the omission of the verb, 'and then—something or other about the fight of the Locrians'. (Cf. II. 6.) There is the same contemptuous reference to the opponent's arguments in *Div.* II 48 *habes et respersionem pigmentorum et rostrum suis et alia permulta.* Cf. I 93 *nescio quid dissentiret.* The preceding *at enim* easily suggests the understood *narrabas.*

homines homine natos: 'the very patronymic proves their mortal origin'; but according to the common tradition it was only Castor who was son of Tyndareus, Pollux being the offspring of Jupiter; and the name Dioscuri, familiarly used of both, might have supplied an equally valid argument for their divinity. In Homer however (*Od.* XI 299) both are sons of Tyndareus. For the construction cf. I 103 *igne nasci,* also I 42 *mortales ex immortali procreatos* n.

recens ab illorum aetate: elsewhere Cic. makes Homer a contemporary of Lycurgus, i.e. about 300 years later than the date usually assigned to the Trojan war (*Tusc.* V 7, *R.P.* II 18); other writers, e.g. Crates, supposed him to have belonged to the generation succeeding the fall of Troy (Grote's *Hist.* c. XXI). For the constr. cf. Varro *R.R.* II 8 § 2 *pullum a partu recentem,* Liv. XXI 16 *hostem recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis,* [Sen. *Cons. ad Marc.* I 8 *vulnera recentia a sanguine.* J. E. B. M.].

sepultos: the reference is to *Il.* III 243, where the poet comments on Helen's wonder at the absence of her brothers; ὣς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

cantheriis: 'geldings', from the Gr. κανθήλιος, 'beast of burthen'; *r* and *l* being interchanged, as in *grando* = χάλαζα, *hirundo* = χελιδών, *vermis* = ἕλμις. The *cantherius* was strictly opposed to the war-horse (Varro *R.R.* II 7 § 15), and the word is here used mockingly, as *caballus* for Pegasus by Juvenal III 18, and *fons caballinus* for Hippocrene by Persius I 1. [Add to exx. in Lexx. Varro *Men.* fr. 5 Bücheler, Tertull. *Apol.* 16, Arnob. V 11, Auson. *Epist.* XXI 39, Hieron. *Epist.* XXVII 3, *in Jona* c. 4. J. E. B. M.]

nullis calonibus: 'without lackeys'. Abl. of Attendant Circumstances, Roby § 1240 foll. See Paul. Diac. Festus p. 62 M. *Calones militum servi dicti qui ligneas clavas gerebant, quae Graeci κᾶλα vocant.*

princeps: sc. *senatus.* I do not know whether this is stated elsewhere. Cato was then (B.C. 168) in his 65th year and in the height of his activity. In the following year he pleaded the cause of the Rhodians in a speech which he inserted in his *Origines.* Much in the same way Cic. ridicules

the idea of a sailor being privileged to receive a revelation denied to the younger Cato, Varro, and Cicero himself (*Div.* II 114).

ergo et illud: Müller (*Adn. Crit.*) compares *Leg.* I 33 *quibus ratio a natura data est, isdem etiam recta ratio data est, ergo et lex; Fin.* III 27 *ergo et probandum.* See n. on I 72 *et non praedicanti.*

in silice: 'the basaltic rock', cf. Lucr. VI 683 (of Etna). Regillus was the crater of an extinct volcano near Tusculum (Frascati). "It is now a small and weedy pool, surrounded by crater-like banks and with much lava and basalt about it, situated at some height above the plain, on the right hand of the road as you descend from the high ground under La Colonna (Labicum) to the ordinary level of the Campagna in going to Rome". Arnold *Hist. of Rome* I p. 120. We may compare Hippocrene supposed to have been scooped out by the hoof of Pegasus. Livy with all his fondness for marvels says nothing of the aid of Pollux at Regillus.

§ 12. **probari potest**: the eternity of the soul is affirmed II 62 *cum remanerent animi atque aeternitate fruerentur.* This was opposed to the doctrine of the older Stoics (*Tusc.* I 77 *diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant*), but still more to the Academic arguments given below §§ 29—34. We must probably take *probari* in the sense 'may be approved of, allowed', as in *Acad.* II 99 *tale visum nullum esse ut perceptio consequeretur, ut autem probatio, multa...Sapiens multa sequitur probabilia, non comprehensa...sed similia veri; quae nisi probet, omnis vita tollatur.*

§ 13. **aedem dedicatam**: vowed by Postumius the dictator (Liv. II 20), dedicated by his son (Liv. II 42). I follow the MSS in giving the *praenomen* in full, as in Liv. II 21 § 2, and am doubtful whether *ab* should not be omitted, see Roby § 1146 on Dat. of Agent. The strict force of the Dat. would be 'P. had a temple dedicated'.

senatus consultum: granting him lands and immunity (II 6).

proverbium: see n. on *Locri* II 6.

his auctoribus: 'when there are such authorities as these', Abl. of Attendant Circumstances, Roby § 1240.

rumoribus: Abl. of Instrument. For the thought cf. *Div.* II 27 *hoc ego philosophi non esse arbitror, testibus uti, qui aut casu veri aut malitia falsi fictique esse possunt: argumentis et rationibus oportet, quare ita quidque sit, docere, non eventis;* II 113 *auctoritatem nullam debemus commenticiis rebus adjungere.*

A e. *Divination, cited by Cleanthes as a proof of the Divine Existence, is utterly fallacious, and would be of no advantage, if true.* §§ 14, 15.

Ch. VI § 14. **sequuntur quae futura sunt**: it would seem from a comparison with Bk. II that not many lines have been lost here. In II 6 the mention of the prophetic voices of the Fauns (below § 15) follows immediately on Sagra; Navius (below § 14) appears in II 9; Decius (below § 15) in II 10; the illustration from medicine (below § 15) in II 12. Thus the

points omitted by Cotta are the terms of divination, the list of ancient seers, the evil consequences of neglect of divination as shown in Roman history, the recent increase of irreligion contrasted with the respect for religion in ancient days. Again, comparing the argument against divination in *Div.* II 20, we have there first of all a proof that divination is impossible: 'since everything happens by fate, and divination is, by definition, concerned only with the fortuitous, therefore it is concerned only with the non-existent', (see the same argument *Fat.* 17 foll. *nihil fieri quod non necesse fuerit, et quicquid fieri possit, id aut esse jam aut futurum esse, nec magis commutari ex veris in falsa ea posse quae futura sunt quam ea quae facta sunt*): then follows in § 22, just as here, a proof that, even if divination were possible, it would be useless; nay, knowledge itself, as distinguished from the vague warnings of divination, would be useless, *atque ego ne utilem quidem arbitror esse nobis futurarum rerum scientiam.* It seems probable therefore that in the lost sentences Cicero had been discussing the defeat at Thrasymene, just as in *Div.* II 22 *aut igitur non fato interiit exercitus, aut, si fato, etiamsi obtemperasset auspiciis, idem eventurum fuisset;* and we may suppose the argument to have run 'what good would Flaminius have done if he had observed all the omens, since all things happen by fate and the future follows the past by an unchangeable necessity?' (*necessario* or some such phrase having been lost before *sequuntur*, cf. *Fat.* 44 *omnia fiant causis antecedentibus et necessariis*).

ne utile quidem est scire: this is very impressively shown *Div.* l.c. by the fate of the members of the so-called first Triumvirate. Dicaearchus (*Div.* II 105), Favorinus (Gell. XIV 1), and Diogenianus (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* IV 3) wrote treatises to the same effect. Hence it follows that the gift of divination would be a sign of malevolence, not of favour on the part of the deity, *Div.* II 54 *hoc ne homines quidem probi faciunt ut amicis impendentes calamitates praedicant, quas illi effugere nullo modo possint, ut medici* foll.

extremum solacium: cf. Hesiod *Op. et D.* 96 μούνη δ' αὐτόθι Ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀρρήκτοισι δόμοισιν ἔνδον ἔμιμνε, and Näglesb. *N. Th.* p. 382; Cic. *Catil.* IV 8 *eripit spem, quae sola in miseriis hominem consolari solet; Att.* IX 10 § 3 *ut aegroto, dum anima est, spes esse dicitur;* Sen. *Contr.* V 1 § 2 *spes est ultimum adversarum rerum solacium;* Ov. *Pont.* I 6. 29 foll.

quod—verum fuerit id esse fatum: see nn. on I 40, where Chrysippus identifies Jupiter with *fatalem necessitatem, sempiternam rerum futurarum veritatem;* also I 55 *quicquid accidat id ex aeterna veritate fluxisse dicitis.*

quis invenit—quis notavit: the same objections are raised in *Div.* II 28 and 80 *quo modo haec aut quando aut a quibus inventa dicemus? Etrusci habent exaratum puerum* (i.e. Tages, mentioned *Div.* II 50) *auctorem disciplinae suae: nos quem?* "Is it Attus or Romulus or some barbarian?" The Greeks ascribed the invention to Prometheus, Aesch. *Pr.* 492 foll. Quintus arguing in favour of divination says (*Div.* I 85) *nec vero quicquam aliud affertur, cur ea quae dico divinandi genera nulla sint, nisi quod diffi-*

cile dictu videtur, quae cujusque divinationis ratio, quae causa sit. He therefore endeavours first of all to prove that it is true in point of fact, whether it can be explained or not.

notavit: 'took note of the different fulfilments'. Cf. above II 166 *usus notavit* (*ostenta*), *Div.* I 94 *Arabes...cantus avium et volatus notaverunt*, ib. II 91 *notant sidera natalicia Chaldaei.*

fissum jecoris: the liver was considered the most important of all the *exta* for the purposes of divination. We learn from Ezekiel xxi 21 that it was consulted in Babylon. Plato makes it the organ of dreams during life and of augury after death (*Tim.* 71 foll.). One face of the liver was called *pars inimica*, i.e. relating to the enemy, the other *pars familiaris*, i.e. relating to the person interested; each face was divided by a *fissum* or *limes*, and the omen was favorable according to the direction and regularity of the division and the richness of the vessels, cf. *Div.* II 28 *quo modo est collatum inter ipsos, quae pars inimica, quae pars familiaris esset, quod fissum periculum, quod commodum aliquod ostenderet?* ib. 32 *fissum familiare et vitale tractant; caput jecoris ex omni parte diligentissime considerant;* Lucan I 621 *cernit tabe jecur madidum, venasque minaces hostili de parte videt; pulmonis anheli fibra latet parvusque secat vitalia limes;* Liv. VIII 9, Seneca *Oedip.* 363, Bouché Leclercq IV 69 foll.

cornicis cantum: cf. *Div.* I 12 *omittat urgere Carneades, quod faciebat etiam Panaetius requirens, Juppiterne cornicem a laeva, corvum ab dextera canere jussisset;* ib. I 85 'what reason has the augur to assign *cur a dextra corvus, a sinistra cornix faciat ratum?*'

sortes: divination by lots (cleromancy) was familiar to the Hebrews, as in the case of Achan, Jonathan, Matthias; and to the Greeks, as in the selection of a champion to meet the challenge of Hector, see Bouché Leclercq I 189. It was however much more prevalent in Italy, and thus the word *sortes* is often used in a secondary sense of any kind of oracle; so that Cic. has to distinguish in *Div.* II 70 *sortes eae quae ducuntur, non illae quae vaticinatione funduntur.* Usually the lots were little wooden tablets placed in an urn, *situla* (see above I 106). A set of bronze lots with sentences inscribed on each have been found near Patavium and are supposed to be the lots of Geryon consulted by Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 14). The inscriptions are given in Mommsen's *Corpus* I pp. 267—270 and in Bouché Leclercq IV 155. There were *sortes* also at Caere, the shrivelling of which was esteemed a bad omen (*sortes extenuatas* Liv. XXI 62. Leclercq seems to adopt Lamb.'s emendation *extaeniatas*, i.e. 'loosened from the bundle', see his vol. IV p. 146); at Falerii, of which Livy tells us (XXII 1) *sortes sua sponte attenuatas unamque excidisse ita scriptam 'Mavors telum suum concutit';* at the fountain of Clitumnus (Plin. *Ep.* VIII 8); but above all in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, of which Cicero gives the following account (*Div.* II 85): *quid enim sors est? idem prope modum quod micare, quod talos jacere; tota res est inventa fallaciis* foll. He then proceeds to give the legend of the place, how a certain Numerius Suffustius

was bidden by a vision to cut through the rock in a certain spot, upon which *sortes erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis.* 'The lots were placed in a sacred chest, from which they *Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur.* In other shrines the lots have ceased to be consulted, but Praeneste still retains its fame among the vulgar; which gave rise to the remark of Carneades *nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam*'. The oracle of Praeneste recovered its old repute in the general revival of superstition under the Empire, see Suet. *Tib.* 63. In the third century of our era the old wooden lots were exchanged for the *sortes Virgilianae* (Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 4, Trebell. Poll. *Claud.* 10, Vopiscus *Firm.* 3). We read of lots being employed in the temple of Zeus at Dodona (*Div.* I 76). Lots were in use also with the strolling fortune-tellers of Rome (*sortilegi*), to whom we find contemptuous allusions in *Div.* I 132, Hor. *Sat.* I 9. 29, and 113. See on the general subject Mayor on Juvenal I 82, Marquardt III pp. 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, Van Dale *de Orac.* c. 13, Bouché Leclercq l.c.

quibus ego credo: cf. n. on § 5 *opiniones quas a majoribus accepimus*, and *Div.* II 28 (*haruspicinam*) *ego reipublicae causa communisque religionis colendam censeo;* but such expressions are a mere pretence *ne communia jura migrare videatur*, as Quintus says, *Div.* I 8; and, in the second book of the *De Div.*, Cicero makes no secret of his own disbelief in omens of all kinds, see II 16 *nondum dico quam haec signa nulla sint, fissum jecoris, corvi cantus, volatus aquilae, stellae trajectio, voces furentium, sortes, somnia*, also §§ 41, 127, 147.

Atti Navii: above II 9. But in the Academic argument of *Div.* II 80 we read *omitte lituum Romuli, contemne cotem Atti Navii. Nihil debet esse in philosophia commenticiis fabellis loci.*

praesertim cum: the mistakes of the diviners make it more difficult to conjecture how the science grew up (*qui ista intellecta sint*, lit. 'how these portents got to be understood'). We find **divinus** in the sense of 'prophetic' in Horace *Od.* III 27. 10 *imbrium divina avis imminentum;* then as a substantive Liv. I 36 *age dum, divine tu, inaugura; Div.* II 9 *nescio qui ille divinus; Fat.* 15 *Chaldaeos ceterosque divinos.*

§ 15. **at medici falluntur**: see II 12.

quid simile: 'in what respect does medicine resemble divination?' lit. 'is medicine a similar thing and divination (a similar thing)?' cf. above § 9 on *quam simile.* For the omission of the verb cf. Hor. *Sat.* II 3. 99 *quid simile isti Graecus Aristippus?* Heind. and Wopkens supply *est:* Dav. supplied *habet*, in accordance with the more common construction found in *Div.* II 65 *quid simile habet passer annis; Fam.* IX 21 *quid simile habet epistula aut judicio aut contioni?* Cotta's objection will not really hold water. Experience may show a connexion between different sets of phenomena, though we may have no theory to account for the connexion, or even though it militates against accepted theories.

Deciorum: II 10. For exx. of vicarious sacrifice among the ancients

see Lasaulx *d. Suhnopfer d. Griechen u. Römer* cited by Thomson *Lectures on the Atonement* nn. 23 and 25; Mayor on Juvenal VIII 257; Nägelsbach *N. Theol.* pp. 196, 355; Trench *Hulsean Lectures* p. 206 (on φαρμακοί, καθάρματα, ἀποτρόπαιοι); Spencer's n. on Orig. *Cels.* I 31, Perizon. on Aelian *V.H.* XII 28. Instances in the Bible are the hanging of the descendants of Saul by David 2 Sam. xxi, the sacrifice of the son of the king of Moab 2 Kings iii 27. The most famous in Greece are Iphigenia at Aulis, Alcestis and Codrus. For the daughters of Erechtheus and Leos see below § 50. The vicarious principle is stated by Livy VIII 10 § 7 (Decius) *omnes minas periculaque ab dis superis inferisque in se unum vertit;* by Caesar *B.G.* VI 16 (of the Gauls) *pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur;* by Virgil *Aen.* V 815 *unum pro multis dabitur caput;* Lucan II 306 (Cato's speech) *O utinam caelique deis Erebique liberet hoc caput in cunctas damnatum exponere poenas...hic redimat sanguis populos, hac caede luatur quicquid Romani meruerunt pendere mores.* [Nep. X 10 § 2 *ut eum suo sanguine, si possent, cuperent redimere.* J.E.B.M.] Plutarch (*Morals* p. 815 D) speaks of it as the duty of a ruler to take upon himself all the evil which may threaten the commonwealth, and gives instances in which such generosity has been successful in averting evil. Origen (*Cels.* I 31) compares the Crucifixion with the self-sacrifice of the Decii: 'He who was crucified voluntarily embraced this death in behalf of mankind, as others have died for their country, or to avert famine or other calamities in accordance with the mysterious law of nature ὡς ἕνα δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀποθανόντα ἑκουσίως ἀποτροπιασμοὺς ἐμποιεῖν φαύλων δαιμονίων ἐνεργούντων λοιμοὺς ἢ ἀφορίας ἢ δυσπλοίας κ.τ.λ. So Philo (*Abr.* c. 33) of the sacrifice of Isaac.

tanta iniquitas: compare the indignant lines in which Lucretius speaks of the sacrifice of Iphigenia I 84 foll. The objection could not but make itself felt, as the reason and conscience grew in freedom and enlightenment. It is repeated below § 90 'you make the Gods exact penalties from the guiltless', *O miram aequitatem deorum! ferretne civitas ulla latorem istius modi legis, ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset?* Arnobius VII 40 repeats it in reference to the case (mentioned *Div.* I 55) where a rustic was punished by the death of his son for disobedience to a command received in a vision, *quisquam est hominum qui fuisse illum deum credat, tam injustum, tam impium, nec mortalium saltem constituta servantem, apud quos nefas haberetur magnum, alterum pro altero plecti, et aliena delicta aliorum cervicibus vindicari?* We find the same protest against a mechanical view of sacrifice in the Bible, 'Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of lambs? shall I give the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?' (Micah vi 7); 'The soul that sinneth it shall die' (Ezek. xviii 4). As an objection against the Christian doctrine of the Atonement it is discussed in Butler's *Analogy* II c. 5 and is thus stated by him: 'The doctrine of Christ's being appointed to suffer for the sins of the world represents God as being indifferent whether he punished the innocent or

the guilty'. His answer (limited by his choice of the analogical argument) is that it is at all events in accordance with the order of nature; the innocent suffer both voluntarily and involuntarily for the sins of the guilty. It is in fact a consequence of the solidarity of mankind: the good or the evil done by one spreads through all; and the more so, the more the one stands forward as representing the race or the community, *peccant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* In its human aspect an act of atoning self-sacrifice is the highest and most inspiring manifestation of generosity and nobleness, the magnet which draws all men upwards; in its divine aspect it is God's acceptance and forgiveness of all, as sharing in the goodness of one; while for the individual it is, irrespective of all further consequences, the attainment of his highest ideal, the consciousness of the favour of God and the gratitude of men. But all this of course implies more than the mere *opus operatum* of sacrifice; it implies the spirit of sacrifice, not only in him who devotes himself, but in all who are to share in the benefits of the sacrifice.

placari populo: cf. *Tusc.* IV 37 *quietus animo est sibique ipse placatus.*

στρατήγημα: the MSS give the word in Latin letters, and so it is printed in Wesenberg's ed. of *Att.* V 2 *Rufio noster strategemate hominem percussit.* Val. Max. has a section (VII 4) headed *strategemata.* L. and S. cite as exx. of its use all the references given under the heading *strategema* in the index to Duker's ed. of Florus, but, as far as I am aware, the word itself is not used by that writer. In the fourth book of Frontinus, which is a sort of appendix dealing with extraordinary kinds of *στρατηγηματικά* in contrast with the ordinary rules of strategy treated of in the earlier books, mention is made of the self-devotion of Decius (IV 5 § 15). But there can be little doubt that the action was done with a genuine belief in its religious significance, not from the 'political' motives assigned by rationalizing Academics; cf. the explanation of the divine honours paid to Erechtheus (below § 50), of the institution of augury (*Div.* II 43 *hoc fortasse rei publicae causa constitutum est*). The word *imperatorius*, which is here made equivalent to the Greek *στρατηγικόν*, is freely used by Cic. for anything which belongs to or befits a general, as of the eagle eye of Marius (*Balb.* 49) *ille imperatorius ardor oculorum.*

nam Fauni: a harsh instance of the *transitional* use of *nam*, for which see I 27, II 67 and Index.

quid sit nescio: cf. II 6 n. The doubt as to the nature of Faunus is easily explained from the inconsistent voice of tradition. Was he an old king of Latium, or an ancient bard or seer, or is he the Greek Pan, or a Latin God of fertility, or merely a tricksy goblin? Or is he indeed any thing more than an echo?

A f. *Of the remaining three arguments of Cleanthes, the two which deal with the blessings of life and the order of the heavenly bodies will be treated under the head of Providential Government* (C);

the third, which deals with the awe-inspiring phenomena of nature, was doubtless effective in producing a belief in the Gods, but is far from proving that belief to be valid. §§ 16, 17.

Ch. VII § 16. **quattuor modis**: in II 13. The order however, as Sch. observes, is changed, the 2nd cause of book II (*ex commodis*) being here placed 3rd, as Cotta proposes to defer its consideration along with that of the 4th cause, and no doubt both of these causes may be fitly considered under the head of Providence, so as to avoid the repetition occasioned in the second book by the treatment of the same topic under different heads. But the question being whether the universe does or does not exhibit signs of a creative and administrative intelligence, Balbus is certainly justified in protesting, as he does below, against the postponement of his strongest arguments and the assumption in the meanwhile that the opposite has been proved. It is possible that the subject was really thus divided by Carneades, who of course had not the argument of Posidonius before him to answer: he may have briefly considered the argument from *consensus* and then gone on to examine the proof of the providential government of the world.

ex perturbationibus: II 14. This cause corresponds to the Meteorological Theory of mythology advocated by Kuhn and others, which is thus stated by Max Müller (*Lect.* vol. II p. 519): 'Clouds, storms, rain, lightning and thunder were the spectacles that above all others impressed the imagination of the early Aryans, and busied it most in finding terrestrial objects to compare with their ever-varying aspect... The coming and going of the celestial luminaries they regarded with more composure because of their regularity; but they could never cease to feel the liveliest interest in those wonderful meteoric changes, so lawless and mysterious in their visitations, which wrought such immediate and palpable effects for good or ill on the lives and fortunes of the beholders' (abbreviated).

ex commoditate rerum quas percipimus = *ex commodis rebus* (or *commoditatibus*) *quas p.*

ex constantia: this corresponds to the Solar Theory thus described by Max Müller (p. 518): 'I consider the regular recurrence of phenomena an almost indispensable condition of their being raised, through the charms of mythological phraseology, to the rank of immortals, and I give a proportionately small space to meteorological phenomena, such as clouds, thunder and lightning, which, although causing for a time commotions in nature and in the heart of man, would not be ranked together with the immortal bright beings, but would rather be classed either as their subjects or as their enemies'. For my own part I consider the Stoical theory, which recognizes both of these causes, as well as the animism of Tylor and H. Spencer, to be truer and more philosophical than any of the partial theories.

§ 17. **sint necne sint**: this is not exactly the point. Cleanthes is dealing with a question of history not of philosophy, and is merely cited

by Balbus to explain the fact of the *consensus*. Still the terrible phenomena of nature, no less than the regular movements of the heavenly bodies, are an evidence of the existence of superhuman power at work in the universe, just as divination, if true, would be an evidence of superhuman wisdom; and these are a part of our idea of God.

caelique constantia: this is discussed in Section B below § 23 foll.

A g. *The argument of Chrysippus, on the evidences of superhuman power in the universe and on the beauty and harmony of the universe, is reserved for the same section* (C), *as also the syllogisms of Zeno, the physical discussion on the properties of heat, and the other arguments in favour of the divinity of the universe and the heavenly bodies.* (Section C is unfortunately lost, but the arguments referred to are partially discussed out of their order in B §§ 21—26, 35—37.) §§ 18, 19.

§ 18. **eodem illa differemus**: said with reference to all that follows, including not merely the clause *quod—melius* but also *quaeque—comparabas, et cum—afferebas, Zenonisque conclusiones*. For the pl. *illa* cf. I 20 *illa palmaria*. In this most awkward sentence *eodem* is taken up again in the phrases *in eam partem—differemus, in idem tempus reservabo.*

quod Chrysippum dicere: cf. II 16 and below §§ 25, 26. For Relative explained by following clause see I 2 and Index.

quaeque comparabas: 'your comparison (II 17) of a beautiful house to the beauty of the world', lit. 'what in the case of a beautiful house you compared', &c., a kind of concrete for abstract, as when we say *victus Caesar* for 'the defeat of Caesar', cf. II 115 *quae ut fierent ratione eguerunt* n.

et cum: in II 19. The connecting particles are intentionally careless, as though to throw contempt on the argument and imply a want of logical connexion, cf. Dumesnil *Leg.* II 14 n. on *scripserunt*, and above § 11 my n. on *nescio quid*. It is unnecessary to supply anything (as Sch.) between *illa differemus* and *cum afferebas*. Strictly speaking the *cum*-clause should of course state the circumstances of the principal action, but, as we have seen in the phrase *audivi cum diceret* (n. on I 58), it may stand for an extension of the object of the verb, being used there instead of a participle, here instead of a relative clause.

Zenonis: II 20 and below § 22 foll.

acutulas: [add to Lexx. Apul. *Met.* VI 27. J. E. B. M.] the diminutive of contempt, like *forticulus* used of Epicurus in *Tusc.* II 45; *contortulis conclusiunculis*, of the Stoics (ib. II 42); *pungunt, quasi aculeis, interrogatiunculis*, of the same (*Fin.* IV 7); *carunculae vitulinae mavis quam imperatori veteri credere*, of the *haruspices* (*Div.* II 52).

physice: the adverb, as shown by II 23 *id ipsum rationibus physicis confirmari volo*; cf. *Div.* I 110 *altera divinatio...physica disputandi subtilitate referenda est ad naturam deorum*, *Div.* I 126 *non id quod superstitiose*,

sed id quod physice dicitur, [also Serv. on *Aen.* x 5, 834. J. E. B. M.]. So we have *Stoice* in *Div.* II 8 (*accurate et Stoice Stoicorum sententiam defendisti*); *dialectice* and *rhetorice* in *Fin.* II 17. It is strange that the edd. should take it as the vocative of the noun, which would be out of place here, and moreover is regularly used of the Epicureans, see I 77 *tu hoc, physice, non vides* with the nn., also I 83, II 48. The Stoics prided themselves on being *dialectici*.

nudius tertius = *nunc dies* (arch. *num dius*) *est tertius*. See n. on *hesterno die* II 73, but here it is implied that a whole day had intervened between the second and third books, unless Cicero for the moment imagined that he was referring here to the first book.

docere velles: see above § 6, and below § 20 *ostendere velles*.

quare—mentem haberent: it seems best to make this clause depend on *dicta sunt* (as Heind. and Sch.). So taken the sentence exhibits the same confusion between the objective and subjective statement (*quare mundus haberet* instead of *quare mundum habere confitendum esset*), of which we have seen exx. before, as in II 13 (*notiones* confused with *causas*) and II 167 *magnis viris prosperae res, si quidem satis dictum est*, n. Below we have (§ 23) *nihil affert quare mundum ratione uti putemus*, which might similarly have been contracted into *nihil affert quare utatur*. In the passage referred to (II 29—44) Balbus did not attempt to show why the universe was intelligent, but gave reasons for believing that it was so. It is worthy of notice that Cotta here speaks of the argument in favour of the intelligence of the universe and stars as included under the general head *deos esse*, thus confirming the view I have taken in opposition to Hirzel vol. II p. xxi foll.

Ch. VIII § 19. **interrogaturus**: 'about to examine my argument'. From the Socratic *elenchus* the word *interrogatio* gets the sense of 'syllogism', cf. *Fat.* 28, Madv. *Fin.* I 39 and Reid *Acad.* I 5.

tacitae: 'without discussion'. Cf. the passive signification of *caecus*, *surdus*, &c.

separantur: as by Cic. himself in his treatises on the subject.

agere confuse: cf. Reid on *Ac.* II 47.

B. Stoic argument on the Divine Nature criticized.
Ch. VIII § 20—ch. XXV § 64.

a. *Criticism of particular arguments of Zeno, Chrysippus and Xenophon stated in previous Book.* §§ 20—28.

(1) *When it is said 'the universe is best and therefore divine', there is an ambiguity in 'best'; we may allow it to be most beautiful and most useful, but how most wise? if, as Zeno says, because what is wise is better than what is not wise, why not on the same principle a mathematician or musician?* §§ 20—23.

§ 20. **nullos esse**: 'that they were non-existent', see Index.

a consuetudine: see II 45 (commencing the second section of the argument) in reference to the difficulty of conceiving Gods in other than human shape. Chrysippus wrote a treatise against Custom, *κατὰ Συνηθείας*, Plut. *Mor.* p. 1036.

quo nihil melius esset: cf. II 46 *mundo autem certe nihil est melius.* The Subj. is due to Orat. Obl. (Roby § 1740) 'than which, you said, nothing is better'.

modo possemus: (that might be the case) 'could we but imagine the world to be alive'. For similar ellipsis cf. *nisi forte* I 98, *nisi vero* below § 27, Roby § 1626.

§ 21. **quid dicis melius?** 'what meaning do you attach to that word?' lit. 'what quality do you call by that name?' cf. I 89 *quid est istuc gradatim?*

si pulchrius: as asserted in II 47, 58, of the mundane sphere.

aptius ad utilitates: as shown in II 49.

sapientius: as in II 47 and more particularly in II 36, 39.

nullo modo prorsus: Madv. on *Fin.* II 15 says that *prorsus*, when joined with the negative in whatever order, always increases its force, as in Plaut. *Trin.* 730 *nullo modo potest fieri prorsus quin dos detur;* see Munro on Lucr. I 748, where *nec prorsum=et prorsus non.* Sch. wrongly asserts the same of *non omnino*, which, like *οὐ πάνυ*, is found either in the weak or the strong signification, *non* being sometimes used to negative the adverb, as in Plaut. *Asin. non omnino jam perii; est reliquom quo peream magis;* and Cic. *Att.* III 23 § 2 *non omnino quidem sed magnam partem.*

non quod difficile sit: the Subj. marks that the reason assigned is not vouched for by the speaker. See Roby § 1744.

Ch. IX. **nihil est mundo melius**: the argument, given in II 21, 46, is borrowed ultimately from Plato *Tim.* 30: 'The Creator sought to make all good and beautiful in the highest degree, and perceiving *οὐδὲν ἀνόητον τοῦ νοῦν ἔχοντος ὅλον ὅλου κάλλιον ἔσεσθαί ποτ' ἔργον, νοῦν δ' αὖ χωρὶς ψυχῆς ἀδύνατον παραγενέσθαι τῳ*, he therefore made the world *ζῷον ἔμψυχον ἔννουν τε*'. Cotta is right in complaining of the vagueness of the argument of Balbus, but his comparison is illegitimate, as Sch. observes; since the relation of *rerum natura* to *mundus* is a relation of identity, while that of *terrae* to *urbs nostra* is a relation of whole to parts. As to the particular comparison, it is of course absurd to speak of the material city as being better than any thing on earth. A single human being, a single object possessed of life is better and more wonderful. If on the other hand we mean by the city a community of men, we may then think of it as the highest thing on earth, but this will only be because we regard it as the highest earthly embodiment of reason.

ne in terris quidem: like *οὐδέ*, *ne quidem* has two senses, a stronger and a weaker; here it is the latter, 'neither is there anything on earth

superior to Rome'; cf. I 71 n., also Caes. *B. G.* V 44 § 5 *ne Vorenus quidem sese vallo continet; B. C.* II 33 *ne Varius quidem dubitat copias producere;* Madv. § 457, and Index.

idcirco in urbe esse rationem: it is the same argument as is used in II 47 to prove the rationality of the world.

quoniam non sit: repeated in *quod—memoria.* The Subjunctives are required, because they are subordinate in Orat. Obl.

in formica—mens: but in II 34 and 133 it is denied that brutes have mind or reason. Compare however II 29 on *quiddam simile mentis.* For the comparison of the ant see n. on I 79.

concedatur—sumere: cf. below § 36 *quo modo hoc, quasi concedatur, sumitis.*

§ 22. **dilatatum a recentioribus coartavit**: the MSS here have simply *dilatavit*, but this is in flat contradiction to II 20 *haec, quae dilatantur a nobis, Zeno sic premebat*, and to *Parad.* I 2 *Cato in ea est haeresi quae nullum sequitur florem orationis neque dilatat argumentum: minutis interrogatiunculis, quasi punctis, quod proposuit efficit.* Heind. followed by Sch. proposed to understand the word in the sense of 'to generalize', 'to cover a large surface', but *dilatare* is regularly used of rhetorical amplification, never of logical extension, cf. *Orat.* I 163 *perfice ut Crassus haec quae coartavit et peranguste refersit in oratione sua dilatet nobis atque explicet; Brut.* 309 *illa justa eloquentia, quam dialecticam dilatatam esse putant; Part. Orat.* 23 (*conversa oratio*) *ita tractatur ut aut ex verbo dilatetur aut in verbum contrahatur oratio.* It appears to me therefore that some words have been lost, and I find a confirmation of this idea in the reading of the oldest MS (V) *dilata lavit*, and in the epithet *vetus* which suggests a lost antithesis. If the archetype had three lines as follows, the second would be easily omitted:

ACVTA CONCLVSIO DILATA
TVM A RECENTIORIBVS COAR
TAVIT

§ 23. **vestigiis concludere**: *vest.* being here nearly synonymous with *exemplo*, I am disposed to treat it as an Abl. of Manner. In its more literal use, as in the phrase *vestigiis sequi*, it is better taken as an Abl. of Place (Roby § 1177), while in the phrase *vestigiis invenimus* (*Verr.* VI 53) it should be classed as Abl. of Means.

litteratus igitur est mundus: the objection is taken from Alexinus, a philosopher of the Megaric school, famed for ingenious quibbling, who flourished early in the third century B.C., and was a keen opponent of Zeno. It is thus stated by Sext. Emp. IX 108 *τὸ ποιητικὸν τοῦ μὴ ποιητικοῦ καὶ τὸ γραμματικὸν τοῦ μὴ γραμματικοῦ κρεῖττόν ἐστι...οὐδὲ ἓν δὲ κόσμου κρεῖττόν ἐστιν· ποιητικὸν ἄρα καὶ γραμματικόν ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος.* To which Sextus appends the answer of the Stoics: 'What is animated and rational is absolutely better than its opposite, but the grammatical and poetical is

only relatively better, that is, in relation to such a creature as man, provided there is nothing to counterbalance it; e.g. Aristarchus the grammarian is inferior to Plato who was not a grammarian'. The real flaw in Zeno's argument is the ambiguity of the minor premiss: the world, as we see it, is not the best thing we can imagine; but it suggests to us a perfect cause, which we may believe in, though we cannot see it. If we include this first cause in our idea of the universe, then we may say that the universe in its entirety, not as known to a finite being at a particular moment, must be best; and we may also say that, self-consciousness being a higher condition than unconsciousness, there must be self-consciousness in the universe.

et quidem mathematicus: 'aye and', implying that this is even a greater absurdity than the former. There is no reason for the correction *atque idem*, see n. on II 41.

denique—postremo: I 104 n.

dixti: for the syncopated form see Roby § 662, Munro on Lucr. I 233, Madv. *Fin.* II 10, Plaut. *Eun.* 322 *amisti*, Ter. *Andr.* 518 *dixti*, Catull. 41. 14 *misti*, *Aen.* I 201 *accestis*, IV 682 *exstinxti*, Propert. I 3. 37 *consumpsti*, Hor. *Sat.* II 7. 68 *evasti*, II 3. 273 *percusti*. Cicero uses this colloquial abbreviation *Att.* XIII 32 and *Caecin.* 82, the latter of which is referred to by Quintilian IX 3 § 22 *Pisonem alloquens Cicero dicit* '*restituisse te dixti*' ...*et ipsum* '*dixti*', *excussa syllaba, figura in verbo.*

nisi ex eo: this is Heind.'s emendation, approved by Madv. *Adv.* II 243 n. and Sch. *Append.*, instead of the MS *sine deo.* The syllable *ni* would easily be lost after the *ri* of *fieri*, and *si ex eo* would quickly suggest *sine deo.* The objection to the MS reading is that the opposition between God and nature (though occurring below § 24, and not in itself un-Stoical, cf. II 75 n.) is here out of place, being interposed between two ironical arguments to prove that the world is itself a master of science and art. And, though *deus* is sometimes used as equivalent to *mundus*, yet the phrase *sine deo fieri* (which occurs below of the tides) is not appropriate to the argument here referred to, *unde hanc* (*mentem*) *homo arripuit?...an cetera mundus habebit, hoc unum, quod plurimi est, non habebit?* (II 18). If we accept this change of reading, it seems necessary also to read *illam* for *ullam.*

sui dissimilia effingere: the reference is to such passages as II 22 *cur mundus non animans judicetur cum ex se procreet animantes?...si ex oliva modulate canentes tibiae nascerentur, num dubitares quin inesset in oliva tibicinii quaedam scientia?*

earum artium homines: cf. *Rosc. Am.* 120 *omnium artium puerulos*, Plin. *N. H.* IX 8 § 8 *Arion citharaedicae artis*, XXV 4 *libertum suum Lenaeum grammaticae artis*, also VII 39, 40, XXX 2.

nihil igitur: 'after such a *reductio ad absurdum* it is plain there is nothing in his argument'.

salutarius: the occurrence of this epithet along with others referring to the beauty and order of the universe is confirmatory of the MS reading *distinctionem utilitatem* in II 15. The comparative *sal.* is said to be ἅπ. λεγ.

B a. (2). *Again, when it is said the regular movements of the stars prove them to be divine, it is simply the regularity of nature; on the same principle we should call tides or intermittent fevers divine.* §§ 23, 24.

ne stellae quidem: weak sense, as above § 21, see Index.

quas tu innumerabiles: 'in countless numbers'. For the inclusion of an adjective, belonging to the antecedent, in the relative clause as a subpredicate, cf. II 89 *natura quam cernit ignotam*, II 136 *calore quem multum habent*, III 93 *deos qui a te innumerabiles explicati sunt*.

reponebas: 'you were for reckoning among the Gods'. On the regularity of the heavenly movements cf. II 43, 49, 51, 54—56, esp. 54 *quae cum in sideribus videamus, non possumus ea ipsa non in deorum numero reponere* n.

§ 24. **omnia quae—ea**: see Index under Pleonastic Demonstrative.

Ch. x. **Euripo**: the currents of the Euripus were proverbial, but rather as signifying irregularity than the opposite; cf. Plato *Phaedo* 90 πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἐν Εὐρίπῳ ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφεται καὶ χρόνον οὐδένα ἐν οὐδενὶ μένει, Aeschin. *Ctes.* p. 66 (of inconstancy) πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου παρ' ὃν ᾤκει, Arist. *Eth.* IX 6 τῶν τοιούτων (the good) μένει τὰ βουλήματα καὶ οὐ μεταῤῥεῖ ὥσπερ Εὔριπος, Liban. *Ep.* 533 μή με νομίσῃς Εὔριπον, Cic. *Mur.* 35 *quod fretum, quem Euripum tot motus, tantas tam varias habere putatis agitationes commutationesque fluctuum, quantas perturbationes et quantos aestus habet ratio comitiorum?* Liv. XXVIII 6 *fretum ipsum Euripi non septies die, sicut fama fert, reciprocat, sed temere in modum venti, nunc huc, nunc illuc verso mari, velut monte praecipiti devolutus torrens rapitur.* A story grew up in later times that Aristotle, then living at Chalcis, put an end to his life through vexation at his inability to explain the cause of these currents (Justin M. *Coh. ad Gent.* 36, Eustath. *ad Dion. Perieg.* 475, cited by Ideler on Arist. *Meteor.* II 8). The account given in the Dict. of Geog. is as follows: 'It remains but a short time in a quiescent state, changing its direction in a few minutes and almost immediately resuming its velocity, which is generally from four to five miles an hour either way. The results of three months' observation afforded no sufficient data for reducing the phenomena to any regularity'. Strabo says of it (IX p. 618) περὶ δὲ τῆς παλιῤῥοίας τοῦ Εὐρίπου τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπεῖν ἱκανόν, ὅτι ἑπτάκις μεταβάλλειν φασὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην καὶ νύκτα· τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐν ἄλλοις σκεπτέον. Pliny, after giving an account of tides generally, adds (II 97) *quorumdam tamen privata natura est, velut Tauromenitani Euripi et in Euboea, septies die ac nocte reciprocantis.*

Mela however (II 7) says it ebbs and flows seven times in every twelve hours, cf. Seneca *Herc. F.* 377, *Herc. O.* 779, *Troad.* 838. The word got to be used of any channel (Xen. *Hell.* I 6 § 22) and hence of a conduit, as in Cic. *Leg.* II 2 *ductus aquarum quos isti nilos et euripos vocant.* On tides see above II 19 nn. [Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 191 παλιρρόχθοις ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις. Swainson.]

freto Siciliensi: the word *fretum* is sometimes used distinctively of the straits of Messana. Strabo tells us some explained the currents there by the supposition that the two seas, of which they formed the junction, were on different levels, διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς εὐρίπους ῥοώδεις εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν κατὰ Σικελίαν πορθμόν, ὅν φησιν (Eratosthenes) ὁμοιοπαθεῖν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν πλημμυρίσι τε καὶ ἀμπώτεσι· δίς τε γὰρ μεταβάλλειν τὸν ῥοῦν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός foll. Thucydides (IV 24) seems to identify it with the Charybdis of Homer, διὰ στενότητα δὲ καὶ ἐκ μεγάλων πελαγῶν τοῦ τε Τυρσηνικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ ἐσπίπτουσα ἡ θάλασσα ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ῥοώδης οὖσα εἰκότως χαλεπὴ ἐνομίσθη. Allen cites Lucr. I 721 *angustoque fretu rapidum mare dividit undis Italiae terrarum oras a finibus ejus* (*Siciliae*). Lucretius also uses the word metaphorically in IV 1030 and VI 364, where Munro says '*fretus* expresses at once the strait joining two seas and the swell and surging common in such cross-seas'. See Varro quoted on *fretorum angustiae* II 19.

fervore: 'boiling', as in Lucr. VI 437 *prorumpitur in mare venti vis, et fervorem mirum concinnat in undis.*

Europam Libyamque: the *fretum Gaditanum* or *Herculeum.* The line, which is assigned to Ennius *Ann.* VIII by L. Müller p. 34, is also cited in *Tusc.* I 45 *ii qui Oceani freta illa viderunt, Europam* &c. It was near Gibraltar that Posidonius investigated the phenomena of the tides, see above II 19 nn.

vel Hispanienses vel Britannici: 'either on the coasts of Spain or Britain'. We have seen above (II 19 n., cf. Strabo III 5 p. 261) that Aristotle explained the Atlantic tides by the peculiar nature of the Spanish coast. The tides of Britain were noticed as extraordinary by Pytheas (Plin. *N. H.* II 99), cf. Caesar *B. G.* IV 29.

fieri non possunt: 'is it impossible for them to occur?' This gives a better sense than *nonne* read by most MSS, which would mean 'may they not occur?'

ordinem conservant: what is the value of the argument from regularity? It shows that there is something more than chance or caprice at work. But *constantia* is never regarded as being the sole and sufficient reason for belief in the rational government of the universe. It might be the necessary result of some original law of matter. The instances by which Cotta endeavours to throw ridicule upon it are themselves indubitable proofs of a steadily acting cause.

ne tertianas quoque febres: the MS reading *quidem* is capable of a good sense in itself, limiting the assertion, like Gr. γε, to the particular

kind of fever; but it is hardly likely that Cic. would have used *ne—quidem* in any but the idiomatic sense. I have therefore followed the other edd. in reading *quoque*. The comparison with intermittent fevers may have been suggested by the common term *circumitus* (περίοδος), see above II 49 and Cels. III 12 *eas febres quae certum habent circumitum et ex toto remittuntur*. On the kinds of intermittent fevers, quartan, tertian, quotidian, see Plin. VIII 50 *certis pestifer calor remeat horis aut rigor, neque horis modo sed et diebus noctibusque trinis quadrimisve, etiam anno toto;* Lydus *Mens.* III p. 51 πλεονάσαντος μὲν πυρὸς πυρετὸς γίνεται, ἀμφημερινὸς δὲ ἀέρος, τριταῖος δὲ ὕδατος, τεταρταῖος δὲ γῆς, Mayor on Juv. IV 57 *quartanam sperantibus aegris*. As we read below § 63, *febris* was deified, though not for the reason ironically suggested here.

reversione et motu: cf. *Ac.* II 119 *motus mutationemque*, below § 27, *Div.* II 94, and see Index under 'hendiadys'.

ratio reddenda est: 'have to be explained'. The Stoic would reply that that was what he meant by calling them divine. The fact that all things were rational proved that the universe was ordered by reason, and to this reason he gave the name of God.

§ 25. **quod cum facere—deum**: 'in cases where you are unable to give a rational explanation you have recourse to the Deity'.

in aram confugitis: the same metaphor is used by Archytas ap. Arist. *Rhet.* III 11 ταὐτὸν εἶναι διαιτητὴν καὶ βωμόν· ἐπ' ἄμφω γὰρ τὸ ἀδικούμενον καταφεύγει; *Caecin.* 100 *cum homines vincula vitant, confugiunt quasi ad aram in exsilium*; *p. Red. in Sen.* 11 *nisi in aram tribunatus confugisset;* *Verr.* II 3 and 8 *ad aram legum confugere*. We have the literal sense in *Tusc.* I 85 *Priamum, cum in aram confugisset, hostilis manus interemit.*

B a. (3). *The arguments of Chrysippus are equally weak. He uses 'better' in the same vague way, and does not distinguish between reason and nature. It is no presumption in man to believe that he is himself rational and that the stars are composed of brute matter. The comparison of the universe to a house begs the question.* §§ 25, 26.

Chrysippus: II 16. For *et*='and then' cf. I 50, 93.

callidus: fr. *callum* 'hardened skin', itself used metaphorically by Cic. *Tusc.* II 36 *ipse labor quasi callum quoddam obducit dolori;* hence *calleo* 'to be hardened', as in *Fam.* IV 5 § 2 *in illis rebus exercitatus animus callere jam debet atque omnia minoris aestimare;* and *concallesco* 'to become hardened', *Att.* IV 16 § 10 *locus ille animi nostri concalluit.* From this sense we get the further meaning 'practised', 'expert', like *tritus*, τρίβων, τρίμμα, cf. *Catil.* III 17 *prudentes natura, callidi usu, doctrina eruditi;* and the pun in Plaut. *Poen.* III 2. 2, and *Pers.* II 5. 4 *vide sis calleas. Callum aprugnum callere aeque non sinam.* We find it joined with **versutus** ('adroit', 'dexterous', 'dodgy') *Off.* I 108, II 10, III 57, *Caecin.* 55, 65. For the derivation cf. Plaut. *Epid.* III 2. 35 *vorsutior es quam rota figularis.*

There is no particular reason for these verbal distinctions here. But Cicero was in Augustine's phrase *verborum vigilantissimus appensor ac mensor* (cited by Trench *on Words* Lect. 4), of which we have an example in the forms *beatitas, beatitudo* proposed by him in I 95; still more in the discussion on the word *invidentia* (*Tusc.* III 20), *non dixi invidiam, quae tum est cum invidetur, ab invidendo autem invidentia recte dici potest ut effugiamus ambiguum nomen invidiae, quod verbum ductum est a nimis intuendo fortunam alterius, ut est in Melanippo,* and so on for some lines; after which he returns to his subject.

igitur: resumptive, see on I 44.

in eodem, quo illa: for the subaudition of the preposition with the relative, when it has been expressed with the demonstrative, see above I 31 n., Mayor on Cic. *Phil.* II 26, Madv. § 323 obs. 1 [also on *Fin.* I 32, Fabri on Liv. XXII 33 § 9, Beier on Cic. *Off.* I 112. J. E. B. M.].

errore versantur: 'have their being in the same error', cf. I 43 *in maxima inconstantia versantur opiniones;* I 37 *Aristonis magna in errore sententia est; Tusc.* I 107 *vides quanto haec in errore versentur* 'what a mistake underlies all this'.

§ 26. **praestabilius**=*praestantius* II 16, 45. See below on *patibilem,* § 29.

quid inter naturam et rationem intersit: 'what a distance there is between reason (such as we know it in man) and the unconscious operations of nature'. This refers both to the argument of Chrysippus II 16 (*in homine solo est ratio* &c.) and to that of Zeno just cited.

distinguitur: on the change from the Act. to the Pass. Swainson compares Madv. *Fin.* II 48.

idemque: Cotta here separates the two arguments which are apparently blended in II 16, where see nn. He has just given the former 'if there is anything in the universe beyond man's power to make, that which made it must be God': he now gives the latter, 'if God does not exist, there is nothing in the universe superior to man; which is absurd'.

sint: Subj. because subordinate to *negat esse.*

id—nihil homine esse melius: on the explanatory clause in apposition to Demonstrative see above § 7 *si id est primum.*

Orionem et Caniculam: see nn. on II 113. *Canic.* is here used for Sirius, as in Hor. *Od.* I 17, III 13, not for the Lesser Dog-star (Procyon), as by Plin. *N.H.* XVIII 68 cited on II 114. As usual, Cotta *confuse agit.* The question is not here as to the divinity of each constellation, but as to the rationality of the universe. Cotta's argument merely comes to this, there are parts of the universe which are irrational and unconscious and therefore inferior to man.

si domus—debemus: see II 17 nn.

aedificatum: cf. nn. on I 19 *aedificari mundum,* I 4 *fabricati;* and for omission of *esse Acad.* II 126 *ne exaedificatum quidem hunc mundum divino consilio existimo,* and Index under 'ellipsis'.

a natura: see on II 33. The promise here made is not fulfilled in what remains.

B a. (4). *Nor is there more weight in the assumptions that the rational soul of man must have proceeded from a rational soul in the universe, and that the harmony of nature can only be explained on the supposition of one divine Governor. Both are spontaneous products of nature acting according to her own laws.* §§ 27, 28.

Ch. XI § 27. **unde animum arripuerimus**: cf. II 18 nn. and *Div.* II 26 *naturale* (*genus divinandi*) *quod animus arriperet extrinsecus ex divinitate, unde omnes animos haustos aut acceptos aut libatos haberemus.* The same form of argument is used by F. W. Newman (*Reply to Eclipse of Faith* p. 26): 'Being conscious that I have personally a little love and a little goodness, I ask concerning it, as concerning intelligence, where did I pick it up? and I feel an invincible persuasion that, if I have some moral goodness, the great Author of my being has infinitely more' (cited by Mansel *Bampton Lectures* p. 197).

et ego quaero: for the ironical *et* cf. I 79 n., below § 82 *et praedones*, and *Cato* 25 *diu vivendo multa senectus quae non vult videt. Et multa fortasse quae vult.*

unde orationem: the same kind of frivolous objection as we had before in § 23. Granted reason, you have its developments and applications.

ad harmoniam canere: cf. II 19 *concinentibus mundi partibus* n. 'Pythagoras believed that the intervals between the heavenly bodies corresponded to those of the octave and that hence arose the harmony of the spheres, which mortals were unable to hear, either because it was too powerful for their ears, or because they had never experienced absolute silence', *Anc. Phil.* p. 10; cf. Plato *Rep.* X 617 'upon each of the eight circles stands a Siren, who travels round with the circle uttering one note in one tone, and from all the eight notes there proceeds a single harmony. At equal distances around sit the Fates clothed in white robes, chanting to the music of the Sirens, Lachesis of the past, Clotho of the present, Atropos of the future'; Zeller I 398, II 653, Cic. *R.P.* VI 18 (after being shown the planets Scipio asks) *quis est qui complet aures meas tantus et tam dulcis sonus? Hic est, inquit ille, qui intervallis disjunctus imparibus, sed tamen pro rata parte ratione distinctis, impulsu et motu ipsorum orbium efficitur et acuta cum gravibus temperans varios aequabiliter concentus efficit; nec enim silentio tanti motus incitari possunt...Summus ille caeli stellifer cursus, cujus conversio est concitatior, acuto et excitato movetur sono, gravissimo autem hic lunaris atque infimus...illi autem octo cursus septem efficiunt distinctos intervallis sonos* (which we imitate on our musical instruments)...*Hoc sonitu oppletae aures hominum obsurduerunt...sicut, ubi Nilus ad illa, quae Catadupa nominantur, praecipitat ex altissimis montibus, ea*

gens, quae illum locum accolit, propter magnitudinem sonitus sensu audiendi caret; Plin. *N. H.* II 22, Shaksp. *M. of Ven.* v. 1. 60 'There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st, but in his motion like an angel sings, still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins; such harmony is in immortal souls; but whilst this muddy vesture of decay doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it'. Aristotle (*Cael.* II 9) argues against the Pythagorean harmony of the spheres.

ista sunt: the soul with all its faculties, which you referred to as proving a divine Originator.

artificiose ambulantis: cf. II 57 *naturam ita definit ut eam dicat ignem esse artificiosum ad gignendum progredientem via.* The change of phrase is intended to be ludicrous, 'artistically walking nature' instead of 'the movement of the artistic fire'. *Ambulo* is however used of inanimate objects, as by Cato *R. R.* I 3 *amnis qua naves ambulant;* of the Nile by Plin. *N. H.* v 10; of light, ib. XXXVII 47, where it is said of a precious stone *inclusam lucem transfundit cum inclinatione, velut intus ambulantem ex alio atque alio loco reddens* [of machinery, ib. XVIII § 317. For *artificiose* cf. Ambr. *Off.* I 93. J. E. B. M.]

omnia cientis—mutationibus suis: Cotta here gives to *artificiosus* a different meaning to that which it bore in Zeno's definition of nature, actually contrasting it with natural, as in *Div.* I 72 (*genera divinandi*) *non naturalia sed artificiosa.*

§ 28. **itaque** gives a reason for *suis.* The character impressed on the universe comes from nature herself, not from any adventitious source.

convenientia: cf. II 54 *hanc in stellis...convenientiam temporum...conveniens constansque conversio;* and, for the passage generally, n. on II 19 *consentiens conspirans continuata cognatio.*

cognatione continuatam: so MSS. Edd. put both words either in Abl. or Acc. But why may we not translate 'connected by relationship'? We have *omnes artes quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur, Arch.* 2; (*animus*) *deorum cognatione teneatur Div.* I 64, cf. Plato *Meno* 81 ἅτε τῆς φύσεως συγγενοῦς οὔσης, with the remarks in Grote's *Plato* II p. 17 (where parallels are cited from Leibnitz); Porphyr. *V. Pyth.* § 49 τὸ αἴτιον τῆς συμπνοίας καὶ τῆς συμπαθείας τῶν ὅλων...ἓν προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἓν τοιοῦτο ὑπάρχει, ἡνωμένον τοῖς μέρεσι καὶ σύμπνουν κατὰ μετουσίαν τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου. *Consentio* and *conspiro* are frequently joined, as in *Tusc.* v 72 (in friendship we see) *consilium omnis vitae consentiens et paene conspirans; Fin.* v 66 *conspiratio consensusque virtutum; Fin.* I 20, *Oecon.* 1.

illa vero cohaeret—naturae viribus: if we keep the MS reading, *illa* here can only refer to *natura*, some edd. have therefore proposed to make it plural, reading *continerentur, cohaerent, permanent;* but Cic. is not very careful about avoiding repetitions, cf. below § 34 *natura...ex naturis...quo naturae vi,* II 25 *puteis jugibus* n., *Div.* I 112 *e monte Taygeto extrema*

montis quasi puppis avulsa est: moreover we find the sing. *in ea* just below. On **vero** see I 86 n.

naturae viribus, non deorum: but to the Stoic, as to the Christian, nature was merely the manifestation of God; cf. Lact. II 8 *melius Seneca vidit nil aliud esse naturam quam Deum. Cum igitur ortum rerum tribuis naturae ac detrahis Deo, in eodem luto haesitans versuram facis. A quo enim fieri mundum negas, ab eodem plane fieri mutato nomine confiteris.* Balbus carefully distinguishes the meanings of the term 'nature' II 81, and is quite willing to ascribe to nature the ordering of the universe, provided that by 'nature' we understand *vim participem rationis*, and not *vim quandam sine ratione cientem motus in corporibus necessarios.*

quasi consensus: see on II 19; *quasi* is merely a modest way of introducing his equivalent for the Gr., cf. Reid on *Cato* 47 *quasi titillatio* = γαργαλισμός.

B b. *Carneades' argument showing that no animal can be eternal* (and therefore that the God of the Stoics is a figment). Ch. XII § 29 —ch. XIV § 34.

(1) *Whatever is corporeal must be discerptible.* § 29.

Much of the following argument is found in Sext. Emp. IX 137 foll. It is there employed undisguisedly to disprove the existence of the Gods, not, as ostensibly here, to disprove the Stoic view of their nature, cf. above § 20 *cum ostendere velles quales di essent, ostenderes nullos esse.* Sextus begins, not simply by assuming, but by proving, that the God of the Stoics must be an animal, τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦ μὴ ζῴου κρεῖττον. Whatever may be the value of the argument, it does not touch the main point of the Stoic theology, the belief in the mundane Deity; for this did not prevent them from maintaining the doctrine of the corruptibility of the world, in opposition to the Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of the world; cf. Diog. L. VII 141 φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον ἅτε γενητόν, οὗ τά τε μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι καὶ τὸ ὅλον· τὰ δὲ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου φθαρτά, εἰς ἄλληλα γὰρ μεταβάλλει· φθαρτὸς ἄρα ὁ κόσμος (see below B b (3)). καὶ εἴ τι ἐπιδεκτικόν ἐστι τῆς ἐς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς, φθαρτόν ἐστι· καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἄρα· ἐξαυχμοῦται γὰρ καὶ ἐξυδατοῦται, Zeller IV p. 152 n. But how is this consistent with their doctrine that the world is God, ζῷον ἀθάνατον? The explanation is that, though the form is transitory, the substance is eternal. The world, as it exists at any moment, will be destroyed in the next conflagration, but the flame, which destroys it, is itself the seed of the new world which rises out of the ashes of the old; cf. Zeno (Stob. *Ecl.* p. 322) τὴν τῶν ὄντων πρώτην ὕλην πᾶσαν ἀΐδιον καὶ οὔτε πλείω γιγνομένην οὔτε ἐλάττω, τὰ δὲ μέρη ταύτης οὐκ ἀεὶ ταὐτὰ διαμένειν ἀλλὰ διαιρεῖσθαι καὶ συγχεῖσθαι, also Chrysippus ibid. and ap. Plut. *St. Rep.* p. 1052. More fully pseudo-Philo *Inc. Mund.* 2 οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐηθὴς ὥστε ἀπορεῖν εἰ ὁ κόσμος εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεται, ἀλλ' εἰ δέχεται τὴν ἐκ τῆς διακοσμήσεως μεταβολήν, ib. 3 οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ κόσμον

μὲν ἕνα, γενέσεως δὲ αὐτοῦ θεὸν αἴτιον, φθορᾶς δὲ μηκέτι θεόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι πυρὸς ἀκαμάτου δύναμιν...ἐξ ἧς πάλιν αὖ ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου συνίστασθαι προμηθείᾳ τοῦ τεχνίτου. δύναται δὲ κατὰ τούτους ὁ μέν τις κόσμος ἀΐδιος, ὁ δὲ φθαρτὸς λέγεσθαι, φθαρτὸς μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν, ἀΐδιος δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν παλιγγενεσίαις καὶ περιόδοις ἀθανατιζόμενος οὐδέποτε λῃγούσαις, Zeller IV p. 153 nn. It may be well to note here that the Stoics used the term σῶμα in the widest sense, including not only what we should call matter, but God, the soul, even the affections and virtues, which they defined to be the material soul affected in a particular way.

Ch. XII § 29. **Carneades**: we have a specimen of his anti-Stoic polemic in *Acad.* II 119 foll. After a short statement of the Stoic φυσιολογία (*hunc mundum esse sapientem, habere mentem quae et se et ipsum fabricata sit et omnia moderetur, moveat, regat* &c.) he proceeds *cur deus omnia nostra causa cum faceret—sic enim vultis—tantam vim natricum viperarumque fecerit? cur mortifera tam multa ac perniciosa terra marique disperserit?...Negas sine deo posse quicquam. Ecce tibi e transverso Strato, qui det isti deo immunitatem magni quidem muneris. Negat opera deorum se uti ad fabricandum mundum. Quaecunque sint, docet omnia effecta esse natura.* Compare also Sext. Emp. *P. H.* III 1, Zeller IV p. 504[3] foll.

dissolvitis: cf. *Div.* II 11 *quomodo mentientem, quem ψευδόμενον vocant, dissolvas?* more common in this sense than *solvo*, which we find *Fin.* I 32 *quomodo captiosa solvantur.*

si nullum—possit: 'if all bodies are liable to death, no body can be eternal; but there is no body which is not liable to death, none even that is indiscerptible or incapable of decomposition'. Since, as Madv. has remarked, the gist of the whole paragraph is to prove *nullum animal esse sempiternum*, and the argument of Carneades in Sext. Emp. IX 138 foll. proceeds on the assumption that God is an animal, we should rather have expected *animal* instead of *corpus sempiternum;* and so in fact Ba. reads, but see the following notes. For *ne—quidem* cf. *Deiot.* 36 *nec unquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunae quidem.*

B b. (2). *Whatever is possessed of soul is capable of feeling, and whatever is capable of feeling is liable to impressions from without, and therefore to destruction.* § 29.

We may compare with this argument Sext. Emp. IX 146 καὶ μὴν ἡ αἴσθησις ἑτεροίωσίς τίς ἐστιν· ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὸ δι' αἰσθήσεώς τινος ἀντιλαμβανόμενον (*quod per sensum aliquid apprehendit*) μὴ ἑτεροιοῦσθαι...εἰ οὖν αἰσθάνεται ὁ θεός, καὶ ἑτεροιοῦται· εἰ δὲ ἑτεροιοῦται, ἑτερώσεως δεκτικός ἐστι καὶ μεταβολῆς...πάντως καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς, and therefore mortal.

cumque omne animal: this seems to be introduced as a new independent argument, but I am inclined to think that in the original it must have been joined with the preceding, thus: 'you say God is an animal;

every animal is a compound of body and soul; body is discerptible and therefore perishable; soul is sensitive and therefore liable to suffering and death; therefore on both grounds every animal is mortal'; in Gr. something like this: *πᾶν ζῷον σωματικόν τέ ἐστι καὶ ψυχικόν, τὸ δὲ σωματικὸν διαλυτόν, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν παθητόν, παθητικὸν ἄρα καὶ διαλυτὸν τὸ ζῷον, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον πᾶν θνητόν.* The reasons why I am disposed to join the two arguments are (1) that the conclusion at the end of the section evidently has reference to both, and (2) that the twofold nature of the argument serves to explain the verbiage and repetition which mark the whole paragraph. I think however that in any case we must transfer the sentence *ergo itidem—aeternum* and place it before *cumque omne animal.* We thus bring together connected clauses and get some reason for the logical particles: *ergo* draws the special conclusion from the discerptibility of body to the discerptibility of the animal, in the same manner (*itidem*) as the more general conclusion of the mortality of the animal was inferred from the perishableness of the body. Again, *atqui* will introduce the minor premiss after the major *si omne animal tale est*, thus: 'if all animals are sensitive, there is none which is not liable to be affected from without, and if every animal is of this nature, none is safe from death; but every animal (is of this nature, i.e.) is framed so as to be exposed to the action of external forces; therefore every animal is liable to death and discerptible'.

patibilem: here with an active force 'capable of suffering', as in Lact. II 9 *patibile elementum*, like *praestabilis* above § 26, *insatiabilis* II 98. In the only other passage in which it is used by Cic. it has a passive force, *Tusc.* IV 51 *patibiles dolores=tolerabiles;* so *impetibilis*, *Fin.* II 57. Compare Arist. *Anim.* II 11 § 11 *τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι πάσχειν τι ἐστίν*, ib. II 5 *ἡ αἴσθησις ἐν τῷ κινεῖσθαί τε καὶ πάσχειν συμβαίνει...δοκεῖ γὰρ ἀλλοίωσίς τις εἶναι.* But Ar. guards against the inference that what is capable of feeling is necessarily perishable, ib. II 5 § 5 *τὸ πάσχειν τὸ μὲν φθορά τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τὸ δὲ σωτηρία μᾶλλον τοῦ δυνάμει ὄντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντελεχείᾳ ὄντος*, Stob. *Ecl.* I 58 (Diels p. 456). Cf. Reid on *Acad.* I 41 *comprehendibile.*

eorum: sc. *animalium* understood from *omne animal.* Sch. compares *Fin.* IV 57 *cumque omnis controversia aut de re soleat aut de nomine esse, utraque earum nascitur*, where Madv. cites *Off.* I 41 *totius injustitiae nulla capitalior.* See also *Tusc.* IV 65 *in tota ratione ea quae pertinet ad animi perturbationem, una res videtur causam continere, omnes eas esse in nostra potestate;* so in *Leg.* I 40 *jure aliquo* is followed by *quae si appellare audent.*

accipiendi aliquid extrinsecus: but the Stoics expressly denied that there was anything outside which could affect their mundane deity, cf. II 31, 35 nn. Plato's doctrine of sensation is thus summed up in *Plac. Phil.* IV 8 (Diels p. 394): Pl. defines *αἴσθησις* to be *ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος κοινωνίαν πρὸς τὰ ἐκτός· ἡ μὲν γὰρ δύναμις ψυχῆς, τὸ δ' ὄργανον σώματος· ἄμφω δὲ διὰ φαντασίας ἀντιληπτικὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν.* On the force of *accipiendi* cf. *accipere plagam* I 70 and below § 32 *accipiat interitum.*

quasi ferendi et patiendi: is this C.'s explanation of *accip. extr.* (ἔξωθεν λαμβάνειν), or is it simply a translation of τοῦ πάσχειν, for which he may have thought *patiendi* by itself to be not sufficiently general? On the use of *quasi* in introducing a translation see above § 28. Perhaps the Gr. may have been something as follows: οὐδέν ἐστι ζῷον ὅτι μὴ τῇ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι ἔξωθεν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ πάσχειν, ἀνάγκῃ ἔχεται· εἰ δὲ πᾶν ζῷον τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲν ἔσται ζῷον ἄφθαρτον.

B b. (3). *Whatever is composed of changing elements is itself liable to change and therefore perishable; but the four elements of which all animals are composed are changeable and perishable; therefore all animals are mortal.* §§ 30, 31. See Diog. L. VII 141 cited above under B b (1).

§ 30. **ut enim, si omnis cera—item nihil argenteum—similiter igitur**: 'as, if liquefaction were a property of wax, there could be nothing made of wax which would not exhibit this property, and in like manner nothing of silver (which would not do the same), if liquefaction were a property of silver; so—'. For the use of *igitur* in the apodosis Sch. cites § 33 *nullum igitur animal aeternum est*, and *Invent.* I 59 *quodsi melius geruntur ea quae consilio quam quae sine consilio administrantur, nihil autem omnium rerum melius administratur quam omnis mundus, consilio igitur mundus administratur.* It is not unfrequent in Plautus and Lactantius, see exx. in Hand's *Tursell.* s. v. So *ergo* below § 51.

cera commutabilis: wax is the stock example of ἀλλοίωσις, see Arist. *Phys.* VII 3 p. 245 b 'we do not call an object fashioned in a particular way by the name of the material of which it is composed, e.g. we do not call a statue bronze, but of bronze, nor a pyramid wax, but of wax; but the material itself we call by the same name however it is altered, for whether solid or liquid we still call it bronze and wax'; so *Cael.* III 7 p. 306 (an example of μετασχημάτισις) καθάπερ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κηροῦ γίγνοιτ' ἂν σφαῖρα καὶ κύβος, *Anim.* II 1 § 7 οὐ δεῖ ζητεῖν εἰ ἓν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸν κηρὸν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα, Plut. *Mor.* p. 1075 (the gods, with the exception of Zeus, are according to the Stoics) τηκτοὺς ὥσπερ κηρίνους ἢ καττιτερίνους, Ov. *Met.* XV 169, Cic. *Orat.* III 177. [Plin. *Epist.* VII 9 § 10 *ut laus est cerae, mollis cedensque sequatur si doctos digitos jussaque fiat opus, et nunc informet Martem castamque Minervam, nunc Venerem effingat, nunc Veneris puerum;* Hor. *A. P.* 163 *cereus in vitium flecti.* J. E. B. M.]

si ea, e quibus constant omnia quae sunt: so (partly following Ba.) I correct the MS reading *si omnia quae sunt e quibus cuncta constant.* It seems absurd to speak of the four elements mentioned below as *omnia;* and in any case *quae sunt* would be out of place in reference to them. *Ea* would be easily lost before *e*, and if *omnia quae sunt* got misplaced, it would be natural to insert *cuncta* before *constant.*

si esset corpus aliquod immortale, non esset omne mutabile: the

connexion between mutability and mortality is denied by Herm. Trism. ap. Stob. *Ecl.* I 35 p. 702 *πᾶν σῶμα μεταβλητόν, οὐ πᾶν σῶμα διαλυτόν*, also by pseudo-Philo with special reference to the mutability of the four elements. After citing Eurip. (fr. Nauck 836) *χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ' ἐς γαῖαν, τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς εἰς οὐράνιον πόλον ἦλθε πάλιν· θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων, διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλῳ μορφὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέδειξεν*, he continues *ὁ κόσμος ἀμέτοχος ἀταξίας ἐστίν, ἀρίστην γὰρ θέσιν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον τὰ τοῦ κόσμου εἴληφε πάντα, ὡς ἕκαστον καθάπερ πατρίδι φιλοχωροῦν μὴ ζητεῖν ἀμείνω μεταβολήν·* 'Earth is in its natural place in the centre, water is poured around it, while the lighter elements air and fire are placed in order above, so that, if dissolution never occurs but where there is an interference with the natural order, there is no cause for dissolution in the world' (*Inc. Mund.* p. 498). Again he cites Heraclitus *ψυχῆς θάνατον ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατος θάνατον γῆν γενέσθαι* (Byw. fr. 68) and explains *θάνατον οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἀναίρεσιν ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἕτερον στοιχεῖον μεταβολήν, ἀπαραβλήτου δὴ καὶ συνεχοῦς τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἰσονομίας ταύτης ἀεὶ φυλαττομένης*, and a little below *τὸ δὲ φάσκειν ὅτι φθείρεται, μὴ συνορώντων ἐστὶ φύσεως εἱρμόν* (p. 509). This constant flux is described by Balbus (II 84) as the life-giving circulation of the universe. He does not however pronounce on the question of its eternity.

etenim shows more fully the reason why all bodies must be mutable and therefore perishable.

§ 31. **intereunt**: see the passage cited above from Heraclitus.

B b. (4). *Every animal is susceptible of pleasure and pain, but that which is susceptible of pain is susceptible of death.* §§ 32, 33.

Ch. XIII § 32. **quod neque natum sit et semper sit futurum**: 'alike without beginning and end'. Philo (*Inc. Mund.* p. 489) distinguishes three views in regard to the eternity of the universe, *τῶν μὲν ἀΐδιον τὸν κόσμον φαμένων ἀγενητόν τε καὶ ἀνώλεθρον* (the Peripatetics); *τῶν δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας γενητόν τε καὶ φθαρτόν* (the Epicureans and Stoics in different ways); while Plato held that it was *γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον*, not meaning by this (as Philo explains) that it had an actual origin in time, but that its existence depended on the will of the Demiurgus.

omne animal sensus habet: so Arist. *Part. An.* III 4 § 17 *τὸ ζῷον αἰσθήσει ὥρισται*, and again *Anim.* II 2 § 8 *ὅπου αἴσθησις, καὶ λύπη τε καὶ ἡδονή*. For the following argument cf. Sext. Emp. IX 139 *εἰ γάρ εἰσι θεοί, ζῷά εἰσιν· εἰ δὲ ζῷά εἰσιν, αἰσθάνονται· πᾶν γὰρ ζῷον αἰσθήσεως μετοχῇ νοεῖται ζῷον. εἰ δὲ αἰσθάνονται, καὶ πικράζονται καὶ γλυκάζονται...γλυκαζόμενος δὲ καὶ πικραζόμενος εὐαρεστήσει τισὶ καὶ δυσαρεστήσει. δυσαρεστῶν δέ τισι καὶ ὀχλήσεως ἔσται δεκτικὸς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, φθαρτός ἐστιν*, also ib. § 70 immortality is inconsistent with pains and tortures, *ἐπείπερ πᾶν τὸ ἀλγοῦν θνητόν ἐστιν.* (The expression *ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολή* is borrowed from Plato *Rep.* II 381 'if God changes, it must be for the worse, since he is absolute perfection,' cf. Aug. *in Joh. Ev.* XXIII 9 *quidquid et a*

meliore in deterius et a deteriore in melius moritur, non est deus.) A similar argument was used by Panaetius (ap. Cic. *Tusc.* I 79) to disprove the immortality of the soul; *nihil esse quod doleat, quin id aegrum esse quoque possit; quod autem in morbum cadat, id etiam interiturum; dolere autem animos, ergo etiam interire.* It was criticized by Augustine *C. D.* XXI 3 *cujus rationis est dolorem facere mortis argumentum, cum vitae potius sit indicium?* 'The reason why we find pain kill here is because the connexion between soul and body is not strong enough to sustain the shock; but the soul will live on in spite of pain.' The Platonists and Peripatetics made the concupiscent part of the soul mortal; hence Virgil (*Aen.* VI 730) *hinc* (i.e. *ex terrenis artubus moribundisque membris*) *metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque.* The Stoics considered all emotion to be of the nature of disease, *Tusc.* IV 23 foll. *ex perturbationibus primum morbi conficiuntur, quae vocant illi νοσήματα...Hoc loco nimium operae consumitur a Stoicis, maxime a Chrysippo, dum morbis corporum comparatur morborum animi similitudo.* Trismegistus ap. Stob. *Ecl.* p. 192 denies that feeling must necessarily be of both kinds.

nec potest jucunda accipere, non accipere contraria: 'cannot receive the one without the other'. The initial negative applies to the combination of the two things; cf. below § 35 *non intellego quo modo calore extincto corpora intereant, non intereant umore* &c. For the Asyndeton see Index and n. on I 20 *cujus principium.*

accipiat interitum: cf. above § 29 *accipiendi aliquid* n. Here it is the translation of φθορᾶς ἔσται δεκτικός Sext. Emp. IX 145.

§ 33. **praeterea**: the particle is misleading here. What follows is simply the preceding argument put into a negative form.

sin autem, quod animal est: I see no reason for the change of *quod* into *quid* (Heind. Mu.). The argument proceeds regularly: 'if there is any thing of such a nature as not to feel pleasure or pain, it is not a living creature; but if all that is living must feel them, and that which feels them cannot be eternal (and, as we said, all living creatures feel); then it follows that no living creature is eternal'. Walker omits the clause *et omne animal sentit* before the conclusion, on the ground that it is otiose and would in any case require *ea.* Logically he is right, but a certain degree of laxity is excusable in a dialogue, and logical exactness can hardly be called a characteristic of Cicero's writings. For *igitur* in the apodosis see above on § 30. For *et* with minor premiss cf. I. 110, Draeg. § 311. 14.

quod ea sentit: the MS reading *sentiat* might be understood as giving an indefinite force to the Relative; but as the definite statement prevails throughout the passage, it seems more natural to suppose that the mood was assimilated by an error of the copyist to the preceding *necesse est sentiat.*

B b. (5). *Every animal has instinctive likes and dislikes for that which is in accordance with, and that which is contrary to, its nature;*

but that which is contrary to nature is destructive to life; therefore every animal is liable to destruction. § 33.

The same argument occurs in Sext. Emp. IX 143 *εἰ αἰσθάνεται...ἔστι τινὰ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην αἴσθησιν οἰκειοῦντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλοτριοῦντα*, and, if so, *ἔστι τινὰ τῷ θεῷ ὀχληρά*, hence *γίνεται ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῇ θεός, ὥστε καὶ ἐν φθορᾷ*, cf. Arist. *Rhet.* I 11 *ὑποκείσθω τὴν ἡδονὴν κίνησίν τινα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατάστασιν ἀθρόαν καὶ αἰσθητὴν εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν φύσιν, λύπην δὲ τοὐναντίον.*

appetitio et declinatio: see nn. on I 104, II 34 *bestiis dedit cum quodam appetitu accessum ad res salutares* &c.

quod autem refugit: it has been proposed to read *a quo*, but *ref.* is often used transitively by Cic., e.g. *Caecin.* 22, *Verr.* V 50, *Rosc. Am.* 45.

B b. (6). *Sensation, whether pleasurable or painful, when it reaches a certain point, is destructive to life.* § 34.

§ 34. **cogi**: cf. *Fat.* 9 *ex eo cogi putat*, *Leg.* II 33 *ex quibus id quod volumus efficitur et cogitur.* So *ἀνάγκη* and *ἀναγκάζω* of demonstrative reasoning.

quin id: cf. II 24, and Index under Pleonastic Demonstrative.

amplificata interimunt: so Arist. *Anim.* III 13 'the other objects of sense, such as colours, sounds and smells, do not by their excess destrŏy the sensitive animal, but only the organ', *ἡ δὲ τῶν ἁπτῶν ὑπερβολὴ οἷον θερμῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν καὶ σκληρῶν ἀναιρεῖ τὸ ζῷον...ἄνευ γὰρ ἁφῆς δέδεικται ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἶναι ζῷον, διὸ ἡ τῶν ἁπτῶν ὑπερβολὴ οὐ μόνον τὸ αἰσθητήριον φθείρει ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ζῷον*, *Mag. Mor.* I 5 § 4 *ἔστι δ' ἡ ἀρετὴ ἡ ἠθικὴ ὑπὸ ἐνδείας καὶ ὑπερβολῆς φθειρομένη. ὅτι δὲ ἡ ἔνδεια καὶ ὑπερβολὴ φθείρει, τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν αἰσθήσεων* (so Spengel for *ἠθικῶν*). For exx. of death from excessive joy see Val. Max. IX 12 § 2, Plin. *N. H.* VII 53, Gell. III 15.

B b. (7). *All things must be either simple or compounded of different elements. A simple animal is inconceivable: in a compound each element has a tendency to fly apart to its proper sphere, so that decomposition is inevitable.* § 34.

The argument occurs in Sext. Emp. IX 180 *εἰ δὲ σῶμά ἐστιν, ἤτοι σύγκριμά ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ἁπλῶν στοιχείων, ἢ ἁπλοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ στοιχειῶδες σῶμα· καὶ εἰ μὲν σύγκριμά ἐστι, φθαρτόν ἐστι· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ σύνοδον τινῶν ἀποτελεσθὲν ἀνάγκη διαλυόμενον φθείρεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἁπλοῦν ἐστὶ σῶμα, ἤτοι πῦρ ἐστὶν ἢ ἀὴρ ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆ· ὁποῖον δ' ἂν ᾖ τούτων, ἄψυχόν ἐστι καὶ ἄλογον· ὅπερ ἄτοπον.* As the argument is closely connected with B b (3), and is introduced by *etenim*, and as § 32 begins with announcing the speaker's intention to have done with the previous argument (*ut haec omittamus*) it is natural to suppose that it may have got misplaced here: it stands alone in Sextus, being interposed between an argument to prove that virtue cannot be ascribed to God (see below § 38) and the sorites by which it is attempted to prove that it is impossible to draw the limit between what is divine and what is not (see below § 39 foll.).

Ch. XIV. **etenim**: if we transfer this argument to the end of § 31, *etenim* would have its common force, and give a further reason why an animal must be mortal owing to its bodily constitution. As it stands, it no doubt gives a further confirmation of the general conclusion *nullum animal aeternum est*, but it is not specially connected with the preceding argument. Moreover it follows another *etenim*, and the phrase *innumerabilia sunt* at the beginning of § 34 suggests a sort of final summing-up.

animalis: 'aerial', as in II 91.

ne intellegi quidem: just so Velleius objects to the doctrine of Anaxagoras (I 27) *aperta simplexque mens fugere intellegentiae vim videtur*, and to Zeno (I 36) *aethera deum dicit, si intellegi potest nihil sentiens deus.*

concretum: Ba. and Mu. accept Dav.'s correction *concreta*, but after the parenthesis it is not unnatural that *animans* should be substituted in thought for *natura animantis*, cf. nn. on II 114 *quem* after *flumen*, II 92 *mota* after *ignes.*

naturis: in this sentence the word *natura* bears three different meanings: (1) the constitution of an animal, (2) here 'elements', see above I 22 n., (3) universal nature.

quarum—habeat: Subj. because the Rel. has much the force of *ut sit* in the preceding clause.

suum quaeque locum: cf. I 103, II 18, 44 nn. and Origen (ap. Hieron.) cited in vol. 17 p. 62 Lomm. *cum igitur anima caducum hoc frigidumque corpusculum dimiserit, paulatim omnia redire ad matrices suas substantias; carnes in terram relabi, halitum in aera misceri, umorem reverti ad abyssos, calorem ad aethera subvolare.*

quo—feratur: I have followed the other edd. in reading *feratur*, but I think the *efferatur* of MSS is defensible, the different elements being drawn away from the compound, of which they are constituent parts, each to its own sphere, fire aloft, earth below &c.

B c. (1). *Fire, the divine element of the Stoics, is no more essential to life than the other elements.* § 35.

§ 35. **Heraclitum**: cf. Bywater fr. 20 κόσμον τὸν αὐτὸν ἁπάντων οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε, ἀλλ' ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται πῦρ ἀείζωον ἁπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα, *Anc. Phil.* p. 4 foll.

ipsum: the founder of the system as opposed to his followers.

non omnes interpretantur uno modo: cf. Arist. *Rhet.* III 5 § 6 with Cope's n. 'To punctuate Heraclitus is a hard matter owing to the uncertainty as to the connexion of the words, οἷον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ συγγράμματος· φησὶ γὰρ "τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος ἀεὶ ἀξύνετοι ἄνθρωποι γίγνονται", ἄδηλον γὰρ τὸ ἀ ε ὶ πρὸς ὁποτέρῳ διαστίξαι,' Lucr. I 640 *clarus ob obscuram linguam magis inter inanes quamde graves inter Graios qui vera requirunt;* where Munro says the epithet σκοτεινός is first applied to Heraclitus in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Mund.* 5 p. 396 b. See also above I 74 n.

qui quoniam—intellegi noluit, omittamus: in complex relative

clauses, in which the verbs require different cases, the relative is usually found in the subordinate clause only, being understood in the principal clause, if it is the object or subject of the verb, or else having its place supplied by a demonstrative; cf. above II 62 *quorum cum remanerent animi—rite di sunt habiti*, *Fin.* II 64 *aberat omnis dolor; qui si adesset, nec molliter ferret* (sc. *eum*), *et tamen—uteretur*, and other exx. quoted on I 12 *ex quo exsistit*, also Krueger *Unters.* § 97 p. 241 foll.

omnem vim esse ignem: cf. II 24 *eam caloris naturam vim habere in se vitalem per omnem mundum pertinentem;* ib. 32 *ex mundi ardore motus omnis oritur*, ib. 28 *in eo (calido atque igneo) insit procreandi vis.* I do not see why the edd. should alter the text by reading *igneam*, cf. below § 36 *nihil esse animum nisi ignem*, *Acad.* I 39 *ignem esse ipsam naturam*, Cleanthes ap. Plut. *Mor.* p. 1034 πληγὴ πυρὸς ὁ τόνος ἐστί, κἂν ἱκανὸς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γένηται πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα, ἰσχὺς καλεῖται καὶ κράτος.

in omni natura: cf. II 24 *quod vivit, sive animal sive terra editum, id vivit propter inclusum calorem.*

calore exstincto: cf. *Plac. Phil.* V 30 οἱ Στωικοὶ συμφώνως τὸ γῆρας γίγνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ ἔλλειψιν, Arist. *Resp.* 17 πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ἡ φθορὰ γίνεται διὰ θερμοῦ τινος ἔκλειψιν.

intereant, non intereant: see above § 32. On the thought cf. Alcmaeon in *Plac. Phil.* V 30 τῆς μὲν ὑγιείας εἶναι συνεκτικὴν τὴν ἰσονομίαν τῶν δυνάμεων, ὑγροῦ ξηροῦ ψυχροῦ θερμοῦ κ.τ.λ., τὴν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μοναρχίαν νόσου ποιητικήν· φθοροποιὸν γὰρ ἑκατέρου μοναρχίαν.

§ 36. **commune est de calido**: 'the assertion you make about heat might be made about the other elements'.

videamus exitum: 'let us see how it turns out', 'the issue', cf. I 104 n.

nihil esse animal extrinsecus: so the MSS, but edd. read *intrinsecus*, and Ba. also *animale*. The latter is perhaps right, as we should have expected *nullum* rather than *nihil* with *animal*. There is however no objection to fire being called *animal* here any more than below *quod si ignis ex sese animal est*. As to *extrinsecus*, I understand this to mean *extra corpus humanum* and to be equivalent to the words which follow (*in natura atque mundo*), opposed, like the *ignis nulla se alia admiscente natura* below, to *ignis cum inest in corporibus nostris*. We have the same opposition above, between the fire which gives energy to living creatures and the fire *in omni natura*. Compare *Fin.* V 68 *haec quae sunt extrinsecus, id est, quae neque in animo insunt neque in corpore.* I think *animantium quoque* suggests the same opposition between the air in the outer world and the air in living creatures. Edd. give to their *intrinsecus* the meaning 'in itself', 'of its own nature'.

unde—constet animus: I think the Subj. here gives the reason, 'seeing that the soul is composed of an aërial substance'. This was the doctrine of Anaximenes (I 26), Diogenes of Apollonia (I 29), and others

cf. *Tusc.* I 19 *animum alii animam, ut fere nostri: declarant nomina, nam et agere animam et efflare dicimus...ipse autem animus ab anima dictus est. Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur.* The Stoics however did not confine themselves to this way of speaking. It was equally common with them to describe the soul as *πνεῦμα θερμόν*, Diog. L. VII 156, *Plac. Phil.* IV 3, Theodoret *Therap.* V p. 345, Chrysipp. ap. Galen *Hipp. Plat.* III 1 p. 287 *ἡ ψυχὴ πνεῦμά ἐστι σύμφυτον ἡμῖν παντὶ τῷ σώματι διῆκον*, Alexander *de An.* 127 *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς πνεῦμα αὐτὴν λέγοντες εἶναι συγκείμενόν πως ἔκ τε πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος* (cited by Zeller IV p. 195). See more below.

ex quo animal dicitur: 'from which the name *animal* comes', cf. I 26 and Sen. *Ep.* 113 § 2 *animum constat animal esse, cum ipse efficiat ut simus animalia et cum ab illo animalia nomen hoc traxerint.*

quasi concedatur sumitis: so above § 21 *videre oportet quid tibi concedatur, non te ipsum quod velis sumere.*

ex igni atque anima temperatum: but this, as we have seen, was the common Stoic view. Even Zeno does not seem to have meant that the soul was pure fire as distinguished from breath. Galen (*Hipp. Plat.* p. 283) reports him as saying *τρέφεσθαι μὲν ἐξ αἵματος τὴν ψυχήν, οὐσίαν δὲ αὐτῆς ὑπάρχειν τὸ πνεῦμα.* We may take Cicero to represent the Stoics generally when he says (*Tusc.* I 43) 'the soul consisting of *inflammata anima* soars upwards after death, till, on reaching *naturam sui similem*, it comes to rest *junctis ex anima tenui et ardore solis temperato ignibus.* The Epicurean view was much the same, cf. Diog. L. X 63 (*ἡ ψυχὴ*) *προσεμφερέστατον πνεύματι θερμοῦ τινα κρᾶσιν ἔχοντι.*

B c. (2). *If fire is the cause of feeling in man, it must itself be endued with feeling, and therefore* (by B b. 4) *liable to destruction.* § 36.

id necesse est sentiat—venire: cited for the mixture of Subjunctival and Infinitival constructions by Madv. on *Fin.* V 25 *necesse est finem quoque omnium hunc esse, ut natura expleatur...sed extrema illa...distincta sint* (for *esse*), who also quotes *Acad.* II 39 *ante videri aliquid quam agamus necesse est, eique quod visum sit assentiatur* (where we should have expected *assentiri* in passive sense). Perhaps this may justify *deos* in II 76.

B c. (3). *Moreover fire is not self-existent, it needs fuel for its support.* § 37.

§ 37. **ignem pastus indigere**: cf. II 40 *nullus ignis sine pastu aliquo possit permanere*, also 83 and 118 nn., Seneca *N. Q.* VII 21 *quare non stat cometes sed procedit? Dicam, ignium modo alimentum suum sequitur...nulla est enim illi via sed qua vena pabuli sui duxit, illa repit.* The same argument has been used in modern times to prove that the sun must at length lose its heat. 'The great mystery is to conceive how so enormous a conflagration (if such it be) can be kept up'. Herschel § 400.

cur se sol referat: cf. Arist. *Meteor.* II 2 § 6 foll. with Ideler's nn. γελοῖοι πάντες ὅσοι τῶν πρότερον ὑπέλαβον τὸν ἥλιον τρέφεσθαι τῷ ὑγρῷ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔνιοί γέ φασι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τροπὰς αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι τόπους παρασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν τροφήν. ἀναγκαῖον δ' εἶναι τοῦτο συμβαίνειν περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ φθείρεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ τὸ φανερὸν πῦρ, ἕως ἂν ἔχῃ τροφήν, μέχρι τούτου ζῆν, τὸ δ' ὑγρὸν τῷ πυρὶ τροφὴν εἶναι μόνον, Lucretius V 523 *sive ipsi serpere possunt quo cujusque cibus vocat atque invitat euntes, flammea per caelum pascentes corpora passim*, Macr. *Sat.* I 23 *ideo, sicut et Posidonius et Cleanthes affirmant, solis meatus a plaga, quae usta dicitur, non recedit, quia sub ipsa currit Oceanus, qui terram ambit et dividit* (separating, that is, the northern and southern οἰκούμεναι, see above on II 165, and Macrob. *S. Scip.* II 9 § 4); Philo *Prov.* II 64, *Plac. Phil.* II 23. On the hexameter see II 25 and Madvig *Fin.* II 15 *cognomento qui* σκοτεινὸς *perhibetur, quia de natura nimis obscure memoravit.* Perhaps this accounts for the less usual form of the abl. *orbi*, cf. Munro on Lucr. I 978.

itemque brumali: in the preceding verse *solst. orb.* is probably used in the wider sense, of the course bounded by the two solstices, as in Liv. I 19 § 6 *(annus) qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe*, but C. takes it in the narrower sense, of the summer curve, and therefore thinks it necessary to add, that it is equally true of winter.

hoc totum—mox: this probably means the whole question as to the personality of the heavenly bodies, on which see II 44 n. There is no further reference to this topic in what remains to us of Cotta's speech. On the Ellipsis with *mox* see Index.

B d. *Virtue, as we understand it, is incompatible with our idea of the Divine nature. Yet it is impossible to believe in a Deity without virtue* (conclusion unexpressed: *therefore God does not exist*). *The incompatibility of virtue with our idea of God is shown in the case of each particular virtue, prudence* (1), *justice* (2), *temperance* (3), *fortitude* (4). Ch. XV § 38.

The argument is given at much greater length in Sext. Emp. IX 152—177, and in Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*, esp. Lect. VII; cf. above I 60 n. on *Simonides*.

Ch. XV § 38. **deum—nulla virtute praeditum**: for the use of *intellegere* see I 21 n. on *spatio tamen* ad fin. Balbus in common with all the religious philosophers, had ascribed to the Deity the perfection of wisdom and virtue (II 30—39), and had expressly argued that virtue and reason must be identical in God and man (II 79), though on a greater scale in the former. So Isocrates (XI § 43), expressing the ordinary opinion, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγονότας οὐδεμιᾶς ἡγοῦμαι κακίας μετασχεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτούς τε πάσας ἔχοντας τὰς ἀρετὰς φῦναι κ.τ.λ. But philosophers differed with regard to the relation between divine and human virtue. Aristotle was apparently the first to give prominence to this question in his saying (*Eth.* VII 1), that we could no more ascribe virtue

to God than vice to a brute, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν τιμιώτερον ἀρετῆς, ἡ δὲ ἕτερόν τι γένος κακίας, and more fully in his proof that the Divine activity must consist, not in doing or making, but in θεωρία (ib. x 8 § 7) πράξεις δὲ ποίας ἀπονεῖμαι χρεὼν αὐτοῖς; πότερα τὰς δικαίας; ἢ γελοῖοι φανοῦνται συναλλάττοντες καὶ παρακαταθήκας ἀποδιδόντες καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα; ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνδρείους, ὑπομένοντας τὰ φοβερὰ καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, ὅτι καλόν; ἢ τὰς ἐλευθερίους; τίνι δὲ δώσουσιν; ἄτοπον δὲ εἰ καὶ ἔσται αὐτοῖς νόμισμα ἤ τι τοιοῦτον. εἰ δὲ σώφρονες, τί ἂν εἶεν; ἢ φορτικὸς ὁ ἔπαινος ὅτι οὐκ ἔχουσι φαύλας ἐπιθυμίας; διεξιοῦσι δὲ πάντα φαίνοιτ' ἂν τὰ περὶ τὰς πράξεις μικρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια θεῶν. Similarly Cic. in his *Hortensius* (ap. Aug. *De Trin.* XVI 9 § 12), which, as Bywater has shown (*J. of Phil.* II p. 62), was probably taken from Aristotle's *Protrepticus*, 'in the Islands of the Blest there will be no use of eloquence or even of virtue, *nec enim fortitudine egeremus, nullo proposito aut labore aut periculo, nec justitia, cum esset nihil quod appeteretur alieni, nec temperantia, quae regeret eas, quae nullae essent, libidines: ne prudentia quidem egeremus, nullo delectu proposito bonorum et malorum*'. So Plotinus : 'if, as Plato says, we are made like to God by virtue, it would seem that we must ascribe virtue to God : but is it in accordance with reason to ascribe to Him the *political* virtues ? God is the exemplar of all virtue, and man receives his virtue from Him, but the divine goodness is something beyond virtue. What we term virtues are merely purificatory habits, the object of which is to free the soul from the bondage of the flesh. With God virtue is nature, with man it is effort and discipline' (a brief abstract of *Enn.* I 2). On the contrary in Cic. *Legg.* I 25 we have the Stoic view *virtus eadem in homine ac deo est neque alio ullo in genere praeterea*, cf. above II 153 nn. The Christian Fathers were divided on the subject, Origen maintaining that καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετή ἐστι τῶν μακαρίων πάντων, ὥστε καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ ἀνθρώπου καὶ θεοῦ· διόπερ γενέσθαι τέλειοι, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστι, διδασκόμεθα, but carefully distinguishing this from the similarly expressed Stoic doctrine (*Cels.* VI 48); while Clement (*Strom.* VII § 88 p. 320) and Theodoret (*Serm.* XI *De Fin. et Jud.*) cited in Spencer's n., speak of the latter as a daring and impious opinion. Clement tries to explain away the text cited by Origen (Matt. v. 48); but there can be no doubt that the Christian Revelation proceeds throughout on the supposition of the real identity of goodness in God and man, and that this lies at the very heart of the doctrine of the Incarnation. The Christian definition of virtue is the divine Spirit working in the heart of man under the conditions of humanity. In so far as man is virtuous, in so far he approaches the ideal, God manifest in the flesh. Our idea of the goodness of God is simply goodness, as we know it in man, but stripped of its association with weakness. Thus we speak of God as holy, loving, just, wise, but not as courageous or temperate, because these latter qualities imply the coexistence of a lower nature with the higher. See Aquinas *Summa* I qu. 21 *virtutum moralium quaedam sunt circa passiones, sicut temperantia circa concupiscentias, fortitudo circa timores, mansuetudo circa iram ; et hujusmodi virtutes Deo attribui*

non possunt nisi secundum metaphoram; quia in Deo neque passiones sunt neque appetitus sensitivus, in quo sunt hujusmodi virtutes, sicut in subjecto. Quaedam vero virtutes morales sunt circa operationes, ut justitia, ut liberalitas quae etiam non sunt in parte sensitiva sed in voluntate. Unde nil prohibet hujusmodi virtutes in Deo ponere, non tamen circa actiones civiles, sed circa actiones Deo convenientes. Dean Mansel in his notorious *Lectures* maintained that we cannot argue from man's view of right to God's view of right, and therefore that objections founded on the supposed immorality of Scripture were unworthy of consideration. The logical consequences of his theory were pointed out at the time in Maurice's book on *Revelation*, and are now sufficiently evident to all. See H. Spencer *First Principles* ch. 4.

prudentiam: we find the same definition in Sext. Emp. IX 162, XI 170 (οἱ Στωικοὶ ἄντικρύς φασι τὴν φρόνησιν, ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων, τέχνην ὑπάρχειν περὶ τὸν βίον), ib. §§ 184, 246, Diog. L. VII 92. The argument however is differently given in Sextus IX 162, 'to know these things he must have experienced them, e.g. he must have experienced pain, and it has been shown that to be sensitive to pain is to be liable to death', (abbreviated). On the cardinal virtues see Plato *Rep.* IV 427 foll.

cui mali—malorum: this would appear to follow from the maxim common to all the philosophers, that God can neither do nor suffer evil, see on I 45 *quod beatum*. The fallacy lies in the ambiguity attaching to the word 'evil'. On the Stoic supposition, God being interested in the world, which He administers, if any evil befel it, He would himself feel it as evil, and therefore exercise the faculty which discriminates between good and evil; but in reality all evil is overruled by Him for good.

ratione—intellegentia: cf. nn. on II 147. The words are often joined together to express the pure intellect, *Div.* I 70 *quae autem pars animi rationis atque intellegentiae sit particeps, eam tum maxime vigere cum plurimum absit a corpore; Orat.* 10 (*Plato ideas*) *ait semper esse ac ratione et intellegentia contineri; Off.* III 68; *Tim.* 2 (the eternal) *intellegentia et ratione comprehenditur; Leg.* I 27. Here however *ratio* must have its special force of ratiocination, as appears from the clause which follows, cf. *Acad.* II 26 *argumenti conclusio, quae est Graece* ἀπόδειξις, *ita definitur, ratio quae ex rebus perceptis ad id, quod non percipiebatur, adducit.* What then is the force of *intellegentia?* Probably it refers to the full realization of the meaning of each term in the argument, as contrasted with the recognition of the logical connexion of the propositions, cf. *Acad.* II 92 *ambiguorum intellegentiam concludendique rationem, Invent.* II 160 *intellegentia est per quam animus ea perspicit quae sunt.* Or should we take it more generally, as in the verse quoted from Sir John Davies by Whewell *Lecture on Reason and Understanding*; 'when she (the mind) *rates* things and moves from ground to ground, the name of Reason she obtains from this: but when by reason she the truth hath found, and standeth firm, she Understanding is'? The Schoolmen, following Aristotle, ascribed

to God only one 'intellectual virtue', that of Intuition, θεωρία, νόησις, while man attained knowledge also by the discursive faculty, διάνοια; cf. Aquinas *Summa* I 14 § 1 *homo secundum diversa cognita habet diversas cognitiones. nam, secundum quod cognoscit principia, dicitur habere intellegentiam; scientiam vero, secundum quod cognoscit conclusiones; sapientiam, secundum quod cognoscit causam altissimam; consilium vel prudentiam, secundum quod cognoscit agibilia. sed haec omnia Deus una et simplici cognitione cognoscit;* ib. § 7 *in scientia divina nullus est discursus...Deus omnia videt in uno, quod est ipse...unde simul et non successive omnia videt.* Compare also the Angel's speech in Milton's *P. L.* v 486 'whence the soul reason receives, and reason is her being, discursive or intuitive; discourse is oftest yours, the latter most is ours'.

ut apertis obscura assequamur: a similar argument is used by Sextus IX 167 to prove that εὐβουλία is not an attribute of Deity: εἰ δὲ εὐβουλίαν ἔχει, καὶ βουλεύεται· εἰ δὲ βουλεύεται, ἔστι τι ἄδηλον αὐτῷ: to which he adds 'and if there is anything obscure to him, it is probably obscure to him whether infinity may not contain some power which is capable of destroying him; but this would naturally give rise to fear; and where there is fear, there is possibility of a change for the worse, i.e. of death'.

nam justitia: in an absolutely solitary being this might be true; but the argument is inapplicable to the Stoics, who assumed a community both of the gods amongst themselves, and between gods and men; for wherever there is a community, there are relative duties, and therefore occasion for the exercise of justice in the strict sense of the term. It is still more inapplicable when God is further regarded as a Creator and Governor, for the fact of creation gives rise to very stringent duties on both sides, and government consists mainly in giving to all their dues. For the transitional *nam* see Index.

suum cuique: Justinian's *Institutes* begin with the words *justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas suum cuique tribuendi.* Cf. *Fin.* v 67, *Off.* I 14, [*ad Herenn.* III 3, *Invent.* II 160, *Leg.* I 19, Macrob. *Comm.* I 10 § 3, Sen. *Ep.* 81 § 7 *hoc certe justitiae convenit suum cuique reddere, beneficiae gratiam, injuriae talionem, aut certe malam gratiam.* J. E. B. M.] and Simonides' definition of justice as τὸ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἑκάστῳ ἀποδιδόναι (Plato *Rep.* I p. 331). Stobaeus (*Ecl.* II c. 6 p. 102) gives the Stoic definition ἐπιστήμην ἀπονεμητικὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἑκάστῳ.

hominum communitas justitiam procreavit: cf. II 148 with nn. But the Stoics never said that justice had originated in human society, but in the divine law, cf. *Leg.* I 19 *constituendi juris ab illa summa lege capiamus exordium, quae saeclis omnibus ante nata est, quam scripta lex ulla, aut quam omnino civitas constituta;* ib. 23 *prima est homini cum deo rationis societas.*

temperantia: Sext. Emp. IX 175 εἰ μηδέν ἐστιν ὃ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ὀρέξεις κινήσει μηδὲ ἔστι τι ὃ ἐπισπάσεται τὸν θεόν, πῶς ἐροῦμεν αὐτὸν εἶναι σώφρονα;... καθάπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμεν τὸν κίονα σωφρονεῖν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ

τὸν θεόν. Sextus also proves that the cognate virtues of *ἐγκράτεια* and *καρτερία* are inconsistent with Deity; otherwise there would be *τινὰ τῷ θεῷ δυσυπομένητα καὶ δυσαπόσχετα*: from which it would follow that God *δεκτικός ἐστιν ὀχλήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς, διὸ καὶ φθορᾶς* ib. 152—157.

est etiam voluptatibus: I 94, 112 nn.

fortis: so Sext. ib. § 158 *εἰ δὲ ἀνδρείαν ἔχει, ἐπιστήμην ἔχει δεινῶν καὶ οὐ δεινῶν καὶ τῶν μεταξύ. καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, ἔστι τι θεῷ δεινόν.* Hence *ἐπιδεκτικός ἐστιν ὀχλήσεως, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ φθορᾶς.* The definitions here given of the virtues are also found *Fin.* V 67 (each virtue has its own province) *ut fortitudo in laboribus periculisque cernatur, temperantia in praetermittendis voluptatibus, prudentia in delectu bonorum et malorum, justitia in suum cuique tribuendo.*

B e. *Even if we grant the divinity of the universe, what ground is there for admitting a host of other gods?* Ch. XV § 39—ch. XXV § 64.

(1) *The vulgar mythology is not more irrational than that of the Stoics, who make gods of the stars, and of food, and of dead men.* §§ 39—41.

§ 39. **nec vero vulgi**: cf. Lact. II 5 *quid mirum si aut barbari aut imperiti homines errant? cum etiam philosophi Stoicae disciplinae in eadem sint opinione, ut omnia caelestia, quae moventur, in deorum numero habenda esse censeant.* Compare the contemptuous language in which the vulgar superstition is referred to by the Epicurean speaker in I 42, and by the Stoic in II 70.

sunt enim illa: this refers to the following exx. of popular superstition (*piscem Syri* &c.), which are contrasted with the Stoic dogmas in §§ 40, 41. For *illa* see on I 20, II 126 and Index.

piscem Syri: Atargatis or Derceto, thus described by Diod. II 4 *τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἔχει γυναικός, τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν ἰχθύος.* She was worshipped at Ascalon. See above II 111 on *Pisces*, Ov. *Met.* IV 45, Herod. I 105, Lucian *Dea Syria* c. 14, Xen. *Anab.* I 4 § 9 (the Greeks found the river Chalus full of tame fish) *οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴων,* Articles on Dagon and Atargatis in Smith's *D. of Bible.*

Aegyptii: I 43 nn.

jam vero: 'nay, even when you come to Greece'.

Alabandum—Tennem: these were the eponymous heroes of Alabanda, an important city in Caria (Juv. III 70), and of the isle and city of Tenedos off the coast of Troas. Tennes, or Tenes, son of Cycnus, grandson of Poseidon and brother, as some said, of Leucothea, was killed by Achilles (Plut. *Mor.* p. 297). His name occurs in *Verr.* I 49 *Tenedo Tenem ipsum, qui apud Tenedios sanctissimus deus habetur, qui urbem illam dicitur condidisse, cujus ex nomine Tenedus nominatur; hunc ipsum, inquam, Tenem*

pulcherrime factum Verres abstulit magno cum gemitu civitatis. We find Cic. pleading in vain that the people of Tenedos might be allowed to retain their own laws (*Q. Fr.* II 11 § 2). Alabanda is spoken of *Fam.* XIII 56, where we have the double form *Alabandis* ('Αλαβανδεῖς Wes.) as here, and *Alabandenses*, as below § 50. *Alabandensis* is also found in *Orat.* II 95 and *Alabandeus* in *Brut.* § 325; see Lachmann on Lucr. p. 281.

Leucotheam: Ino is a goddess of the sea, known by the epithet Leucothea, which was also used of the Nereids. She gave to Ulysses the veil which supported him after his shipwreck until he reached Phaeacia (*Od.* v 333—461), and was believed generally to help those who were in danger at sea. According to the mythologists she was daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia, and wife of Athamas: after plotting the death of her step-children, Phryxus and Helle, in a fit of madness she threw herself and her son Melicertes into the sea. The words of Xenophanes in reference to her worship are recorded by Aristotle (*Rhet.* II 23 § 27) *Ξενοφάνης 'Ελεάταις ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ θύωσι τῇ Λευκοθέᾳ καὶ θρηνῶσιν ἢ μή, συνεβούλευεν εἰ μὲν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσι μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπον μὴ θύειν.* In reality in this case, as in so many others, a deity has been degraded into a mortal. She was especially worshipped at Tenedos, where she was regarded as sister of Tennes. The Romans identified her, probably on account of some similarity in her ceremonial rites, with their *Matuta*, the goddess of dawn, also worshipped by matrons as goddess of birth; and hence the latter also came to be regarded as a marine deity; cf. *Tusc.* I 28, Ov. *Met.* IV 410 foll., *Fast.* VI 475—563, where we have an Italian continuation of the Greek myth. See on this and the following names Preller *Gr. Myth.*, Welcker *Gr. Götterlehre*, as well as the Articles in *Dict. of Myth.*

Palaemonem: Melicertes, another form of the Phenician Hercules (Melkarth) was identified with the sea-god Pal. who was worshipped with infant sacrifices at Tenedos. The Isthmian games are said to have been originally instituted in his honour (Paus. I 44 § 11). The Romans considered him to be the same as their *Pater Portunus*, the god of harbours, on whom see II 66. For the order *ejus Pal. filium*, cf. below § 48 *hujus Absyrto fratri.*

Herculem—Romulum: see nn. on II 62. These, as Italian deities whether by birth or adoption, are contrasted with the preceding foreign deities.

ascripticios: the adjective is not found elsewhere in the classical period, but C. not unfrequently uses the verb, as in *Arch.* 6 *ascribi se in eam civitatem voluit*, ib. 7 *si qui foederatis civitatibus ascripti essent.*

Ch. XVI § 40. **omitto illa—praeclara**: 'I say nothing of those other dogmas: verily they are admirable'. Of course ironical, as in *Acad.* II 86 *jam illa praeclara, quanto artificio esset sensus nostros mentemque...fabricata natura:* see n. on *palmaria* I 20. Instead of *enim* we might perhaps have expected *quamquam*, '*though* they are indeed fine specimens'; but *enim* refers not to *omitto*, but to *illa*. If we supply any link of thought, it

might be 'tempting as they are'. By *illa* we must understand what follows to the end of the paragraph.

hoc credo illud esse: 'this, I suppose, is what is meant by the line'.

sublime: see above § 10.

mihi quidem sane multi videntur: on the *turba deorum* cf. Plin. *N. H.* II 16 *major caelitum populus etiam quam hominum intellegi potest*, cited in Mayor's n. on Juv. XIII 46. I think *multi* here must have the sense of 'tedious', as in II 119. But in any case I am disposed to regard it as a gloss, like *et tamen multa dicuntur* in II 132. Possibly C. may have employed some one else to translate his authority, for it is hardly conceivable that he should himself have gone into such wearisome detail as follows, on a point which there was no need for him to elaborate: in that case we may imagine these words to have been his own exclamation of weariness, dutifully taken down by the amanuensis. If we further suppose him to have intended to omit §§ 53—60, this would account for its being inserted in the wrong place by the editor who published the book after C.'s death (see below § 42). But without indulging in speculation we may safely assume that the gloss represents the feeling of most readers of the mythological section which follows: it is not therefore improbable that some one of the number should have given vent to his impatience in the margin. As to C.'s own belief, it was much in accordance with that of Seneca (Fragm. 39 Haase) *omnem istam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo aevo longa superstitio congessit, sic adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem quam ad rem pertinere.*

stellas: 'constellations', said in lexx. to be only used in this sense by poets. For the names see the Aratean section II 105—114.

numeras: see I 33 and below § 43.

inanimarum: also found in I 36, II 76.

§ 41. **non modo—sed**: 'I do not say to be allowed, but actually to be understood' cf. II 61.

Cererem—Liberum: the Stoic theory is given above II 60 *quicquid magnam utilitatem generi afferret humano, id non sine divina bonitate erga homines fieri;* but this must be interpreted in accordance with the general principle stated in II 71, that after all the real object of worship is the *deus pertinens per naturam cujusque rei.*

illud quo vescatur: so Sext. Emp. IX 39 'those who believe that the ancients deified all that is of use for life, impute to them extreme folly', οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εἰκὸς ἐκείνους ἄφρονας εἶναι ὥστε τὰ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς φθειρόμενα προλαβεῖν εἶναι θεούς, ἢ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν καταπινομένοις καὶ διαλυομένοις θείαν προσμαρτυρεῖν δύναμιν. Cf. Juv. XV 10 *porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu: O sanctas gentes quibus haec nascuntur in hortis numina!* The doctrine of Transubstantiation gave rise to similar taunts on the part of Jews and Mahometans, cf. Campanella in Burton's *Melancholy* p. 687 ed. 1845. The fact that we find no trace of such taunts in the ancient writers and that the Fathers betray no misgiving in following the lead of

Cicero here (cf. Theodoret *qu.* 55 in *Genes.* ἀβελτερίας γὰρ ἐσχάτης τὸ ἐσθιόμενον προσκυνεῖν) is with justice adduced by Daillé (*De religiosi cultus objecto* II c. 4) as a proof of the novelty of the doctrine. [Cf. Bayle s. v. *Averroes n. H.* J. E. B. M.]

nam: see above § 15.

quos: this is cited by Roby § 1743 as an instance of the Relative used for *quod* with Demonstrative. Perhaps it may be explained more simply by saying that the Antecedent *de his* has to be supplied with *reddes*.

tu reddes: 'it is for you to explain how that could be'. For the Imperative force of the Fut. cf. *tu videbis Fam.* IV. 13 § 4; *sed valebis meaque negotia videbis, meque dis juvantibus ante brumam expectabis Fam.* VII 20; Roby §§ 1589, 1595. See on *tu videris* above § 9.

id fieri potuerit: in place of *pervenire potuerint.*

fieri desierit: C.'s practice with regard to his daughter Tullia (on which see I 9 n.), and the subsequent prevalence of apotheosis under the Empire show that Cotta is not here representing either the general belief or C.'s own feeling.

quo modo nunc est: 'as at present informed', cf. *Att.* XIII 2 § 2 *quo modo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat, non habet.*

cui illatae lampades: 'to whose body torches were applied', so *Catil.* III 22 *tectis ignes inferre.* If we suppose *in montem Oetaeum* to be the true reading, we must translate 'for whom torches were brought to Mt. Oeta'. Ribbeck (*Trag. Rel.* p. 341[1]) compares Eurip. *Heracl.* 910 ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῷ βεβακὼς τεὸς γόνος, ὦ γεραιά, φεύγει λόγον ὡς τὸν Ἅιδα δόμον κατέβα, πυρὸς δεινᾷ φλογὶ σῶμα δαισθείς. Sch. suggests that the quotation may be from the *Philoctetes* of Accius.

fuerunt: most MSS have *fuerint*, which would mean 'one such that'.

aeternam: there is no reason for the conjecture *aetheriam.* We find *aeterna caeli templa* in a tragic fragment (Ribb. p. 229[1]), cf. above II 111 on *huic equus ille.*

Homerus: we have a similar ref. above § 11, to prove the mortality of Pollux. The passage here referred to (*Od.* XI 600) cannot be said to prove the point at issue: according to the existing text it recognizes a divine, as well as a human, Heracles; τὸν δὲ μέτ' εἰσενόησα βίην Ἡρακληείην, εἴδωλον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην. The verses were however obelized by Aristarchus, (1) because they are inconsistent with Il. XVIII 117 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα... ἀλλά ἑ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης, (2) because the distinction between soul and shade is un-Homeric, (3) because Hebe is a virgin goddess in the Iliad. The lines were attributed by some to Onomacritus, see Nitzsch *in loc.* They gave rise to much speculation on the part of the Neo-Platonists, cf. Lucian's amusing dialogue between Diogenes and Heracles.

conveniri facit: for constr. cf. I 31 n.

B e. (2). *Even if we accept the principle of apotheosis, how are we to pick out the real claimant from among the many pretenders to each divine name?* §§ 42, 53—60.

The Stoic might answer 'I find the mass guided in their conduct to a certain extent by religious sanctions. These sanctions are closely connected with their forms of worship and sacred traditions. In so far as the latter involve the belief in an all-wise Ruler of the universe, in so far they are right. But at present they are mixed up with much which is shocking to reason and conscience. We wish to make people feel that this is only the outer husk of the truth, that the truth is deeper-lying and distinct from its shell or husk. (This distinction was marked by the opposition between τὸν ἀμέριστον καὶ τὸν μεμερισμένον νοῦν Firm. 7, where see Oehler; and the phrase in Lydus IV 48 τινὲς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἡρωϊκὸν καὶ μεριστὸν λόγον τρεῖς Δίας εἶναι βούλονται... πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου Διὸς Δίοι, ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλωνες ἢ Διόνυσοι.) After a time they may perhaps get rid of the husk altogether. Meanwhile you bring it as a charge against us that the traditions differ. That is all in our favour: it helps to show the unimportance of the husk'. Just so in India at the present day; the inconsistency of traditions, the rival claims of different divinities, are all in favour of the Brahmo Somaj. The argument of Cotta was employed with more justice by the Christians against the vulgar polytheism, as by Arnobius IV 16, Firm. 15, 16, Clem. *Protr.* §§ 26—31.

§ 42. **potissimum**: the adverb, as in II 58.

interiores scrutantur et reconditas litteras: Cic. mentions *interiores litterae* (*Fam.* III 10 § 9) as a part of the *studiorum similitudo* which bound him to Appius, probably referring to their common antiquarian tastes. The phrase is similarly used of Volumnius *Fam.* VII 33 § 2. The word implies the opposite to that which is superficial and commonplace, and in philosophy is opposed to ἐξωτερικά, as Cicero understood that term (*Fin.* V 12 and Madv. exc. 7); cf. *Div.* II 124 *sed haec quoque in promptu fuerint; nunc interiora videamus; Acad.* II 4 *nos autem illa externa cum multis, haec interiora cum paucis ex ipso Lucullo saepe cognovimus;* so *ex intima philosophia Ac.* I 8, *reconditiora Ac.* II 10. Here however it is used of research in the region of mythology. The writers alluded to are afterwards spoken of as *genealogi antiqui* § 44, *ii qui theologi nominantur* § 53, *antiqui historici* § 55, such men as the learned scholiasts and mythologers of Alexandria, Euhemerus, Callimachus, Apollodorus, Lycophron, above all the Orphic poets. Thus Plutarch (*Or. Def.* 456 D) cites the fine Orphic line Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται as uttered by οἱ σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι, and Proclus continually refers to Orpheus as ὁ θεολόγος, cf. Herm. *Orph.* pp. 456, 457, 465 &c. Arnobius, who has copied much of what follows (IV 13—15) names as his authorities *theologi vestri et vetustatis absconditae conditores;* cf. Aug. *C. D.* XVIII 12 *secretiore historia plures fuisse dicuntur et Liberi patres et Hercules;* Lobeck

Aglaoph. pp. 465 foll. 994 foll. In order to reconcile inconsistent legends the mythologists multiplied the gods, just as the harmonists have multiplied the miracles of the Gospels in order to avoid seeming contradictions, see for example the commentators on Matt. xx 29. The true explanation of these inconsistencies is (1) that the same original Aryan myth became variously modified in different localities, (2) that the Greeks and Romans identified their own divinities with those of foreign nations, in accordance either with their relative dignity or with some resemblance of worship, even where there was no real connexion, as in the case of Matuta and Leucothea. The mythological section, which follows, differs very much from the usual tradition, but is to a certain extent in agreement with four later writers, whom I have compared in the Appendix, viz. Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Ampelius and Laurentius Lydus. But there are many points in which Cic. differs both from these and from every other ancient mythologist known to us. Though I have not been able myself to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the sources of the tradition followed by Carneades, I hope that the comparative view given in the Appendix may be of use to others who are interested in the history of mythology; and it will at any rate show the need of caution, in assimilating the texts of the parallel writers.

antiquissimum Jove natum: we are told that Varro reckoned up 44 deities named Hercules, finally coming to the conclusion that *omnes qui fortiter fecerant Hercules vocabantur* (Serv. ad *Aen.* VIII 564). Herodotus (II 44) distinguishes the Egyptian and Phoenician from the Greek Hercules, whom he regarded as much the youngest, and says that in any case we must separate the hero from the god; see nn. in Rawlinson's ed. Compare Plin. *N. H.* XI 17 *quaerat nunc aliquis unusne Hercules fuerit, et quot Liberi patres, et reliqua vetustatis situ obsita*, 'when we don't even know whether the queen bee in the hive close by has a sting or not'. Pausanias tells us that there were two different gods of the name of Hercules, who were worshipped in Greece (V 14 § 7, IX 27 § 5).

Joves plures: see below § 53.

Lysithoe: the only other place in which she is mentioned is Lydus *Mens.* IV 46 cited in the Appendix. Sch. suggests that she is the same as Lysithea, whom Lydus calls mother of Dionysus (IV 38), this god being often confounded with Hercules.

de tripode: Hercules having, in his madness, slain his friend, Iphytus, the son of Eurytus, came to Delphi to consult the oracle, but the Pythia refused to give any response. On this he threatened to carry away the tripod and establish an oracle for himself elsewhere. Apollo then appearing, a struggle between the two gods was imminent, had not their father intervened and reconciled them (Hyg. *Fab.* 32). Plutarch (*S. Num. Vind.* p. 557) says that the tripod was actually carried away to Pheneus in Arcadia (cf. below § 56); and that the insult was avenged by the flood which destroyed this city many centuries afterwards. There was a temple

of Apollo still existing there in the time of Pausanias which was said to have been founded by Hercules (Paus. VIII 15). The same writer mentions a tradition of the people of Gythium, that their town was built by Hercules and Apollo in common, after they had made up their dispute about the tripod (III 21 § 7); about which he tells the following story (X 13 § 4) *λέγεται ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐλθόντι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὴν πρόμαντιν Ξενοκλεῖαν οὐκ ἐθελῆσαί οἱ χρᾶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰφίτου τὸν φόνον· τὸν δὲ ἀράμενον τὸν τρίποδα ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ φέρειν ἔξω, εἰπεῖν τε δὴ τὴν πρόμαντιν Ἄλλος ἄρ' Ἡρακλῆς Τιρύνθιος οὐχὶ Κανωβεύς. πρότερον γὰρ ἔτι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἡρακλῆς ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφούς. τότε δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος τόν τε τρίποδα ἀποδίδωσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ξενοκλείας ὅποσα ἐδεῖτο ἐδιδάχθη. παραδεξάμενοι δὲ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν λόγον μάχην Ἡρακλέους πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τρίποδος ᾄδουσιν*, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 387. The subject was often treated in works of art; Pausanias l.c. describes an offering by the Mantineans at Delphi, in which Hercules and Apollo were represented as both grasping the tripod and held back, the former by Athene, the latter by Leto and Artemis. Sch. refers to O. Müller's *Dorians* II 11 § 8.

Nilo natus: Wilkinson (in Rawlinson's Herod. II 43 n.) says there were two Egyptian gods, Khons, the third member of the Theban triad, and Moui the 'splendour of the sun', whom the Greeks identified with their Hercules. Heracleopolis was the name of an important city and nome in Middle Egypt. There was also a temple to Hercules, near one of the mouths of the Nile, which was visited by Germanicus, Tac. *Ann.* II 60 *proximum amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum volunt*, cf. Macrob. *Sat.* I 20 *sacratissima et augustissima Aegyptii cum religione venerantur, ultraque memoriam...ut carentem initio colunt*, Diod. I 24. The Nile was thought to be the same as Oceanus and to have given birth to all the gods (Diod. I 12, Heliod. *Aeth.* IX 9). This is however the only passage, excepting that quoted from Lydus in the Appendix, in which Nilus is called expressly father of Hercules. The image of the Idaean Hercules at Erythrae was said to have come from Tyre and to be exactly of the Egyptian pattern (Paus. VII 5 § 3).

Phrygias litteras conscripsisse: 'to have drawn up the Phrygian traditions'. We should rather have expected this to be said of the Idaean Hercules mentioned below, to whom Diodorus (V 64) ascribes the authorship of certain charms and mystic rites. But Wyttenbach in his note on this place (not on Plut. *Is. et Os.* l.c., as Sch. and Kühner have it) is certainly wrong in considering our *Phrygiae litterae* to be nothing more than magical figures. They must be explained by Diod. III 66 *τὴν Φρυγίαν καλουμένην ποίησιν*, the authorship of which is usually assigned to Linus the reputed instructor of Hercules; also by Plut. *Is. et Os.* 362 'we need not pay any attention *τοῖς Φρυγίοις γράμμασιν*, in which Isis is said to be the daughter of Hercules'; and *Frag.* p. 18 Didot (taken from Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* III 1) 'that the old mythology concealed a theory of nature is plain from the Orphic and Egyptian and Phrygian books'. Probably this

was a theological treatise professing to be written by Hercules, just as the *Poemander* professed to be written by Hermes. Clement mentions that the priests of Isis were required to know by heart the Hermetic books, 42 in number, and that these were regularly carried through the temple in procession (*Strom.* VI 4). We have a specimen of the sacred books of the Egyptians in the 'Ritual of the Dead' lately deciphered and translated. Plato alludes to them (*Tim.* 23), where he represents a priest as addressing Solon in the words *πάντα γεγραμμένα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῇδ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ...τῆς δὲ ἐνθάδε διακοσμήσεως παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ὀκτακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς γέγραπται.* We must also distinguish our *Phrygiae litterae* from the Φρύγιοι Λόγοι of Diagoras, mentioned by Tatian c. 44, in which the mysteries of Cybele were ridiculed.

ex Idaeis Digitis: on this very obscure subject cf. *Dict. of Biog.* s. v., Lobeck *Agl.* pp. 1156—1181, Diod. V 64, Strabo X p. 715 foll. They were commonly connected with the Cretan, but sometimes with the Phrygian Ida, as by Clem. *Strom.* I 15 § 73 'some say that certain of the so-called Idaean Dactyli were the first wise men, and that they invented musical rhythms and the Ἐφέσια γράμματα. Now these Dactyli were Phrygians and barbarians. Ἡρόδωρος δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, μάντιν καὶ φυσικὸν γενόμενον, ἱστορεῖ παρὰ Ἄτλαντος τοῦ βαρβάρου τοῦ Φρυγὸς διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ κόσμου κίονας, i.e. the knowledge of astronomy' (Philostr. *Prooem. Heroic.* § 12 refers the origin of poetry to Hercules, son of Alcmena, and says that he was the instructor of Linus); Arnob. III 41 'Nigidius identifies with the Lares sometimes the Curetes, sometimes *Digitos Samothracios, quos quinque indicant Graeci Idaeos Dactylos nuncupari*'. Pausanias speaks more than once of the Idaean Hercules, as worshipped in Greece e.g. at Thespiae (IX 27 § 5) ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφαίνετό μοι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος, καὶ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι[1] τοῦ καλουμένου τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἐρυθραίους τοὺς ἐς Ἰωνίαν καὶ Τυρίους ἱερὰ ἔχοντας εὕρισκον. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἠγνόουν τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὅπου γε αὐτοὶ τῆς Μυκαλησσίας Δήμητρος Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἰδαίῳ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγουσιν, also ib. 19 § 4 and V 14 § 7. Diodorus says (V 64) that Hercules was the eldest of the five Dactyli and that he founded the games at Olympia. The phrase employed by Cic. *ex Id. Dig.* is probably a translation of a partitive genitive, such as we find in the above quotation from Pausanias.

cui inferias afferunt Coi: Herod. II 44 'I think those Greeks act most rightly, who have established a double cultus of Hercules καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι.' The phrase *inf. aff.* corresponds to χοὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν (Plut. *Rom.* c. 4). The reading *Coi* is a correction for the *cui* of MSS. On the worship of Hercules at Cos see Plut. *Mor.* p. 304 and Osann's n. on Cornutus c. 31. We do not however read elsewhere that it was addressed especially to the Idaean Hercules or that it was distinguished for its mournful character.

[1] I have altered the position of εἶναι, which in Siebelis' ed. follows Ἡρακλέα.

Asteriae: the only other authority for this statement is Eudoxus the famous astronomer, on whom see II 104: cf. Athen. IX 392 E *Εὔδοξος δ' ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν πρώτῳ γῆς περιόδου τοὺς Φοίνικας λέγει θύειν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ὄρτυγας, διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀστερίας καὶ Διὸς πορευόμενον εἰς Λιβύην ἀναιρεθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος, Ἰολάου δ' αὐτῷ προσενέγκαντος ὄρτυγα...ὀσφρανθέντ' ἀναβιῶναι*, copied by Eustath. ad *Odyss.* XI 601. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 409) she was sister of Leto wife of Perses and mother of Hecate (see below § 46): according to the more common tradition (Hyg. *Fab.* 53, Apollod. I 2 § 2) she changed herself into a quail to escape from the pursuit of Zeus, and having afterwards thrown herself into the sea was metamorphosed into the island Ortygia (Delos). Probably the name Asteria was selected by the mythologers as approaching most nearly to Ashteroth and Astarte (see below § 59). Thus Lydus (IV 44) *οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες Ἀστάρτην τὴν σφῶν πολιοῦχον, οἱονεὶ τὴν Ἀστερίαν* (which, in II 10 p. 24, he tells us is a title of Aphrodite) *ἢ τὴν τῆς ἄστεως ἀρετὴν εἶναι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην βούλονται.* Ampelius c. 9 gives a slightly different account (see Appendix). Similarly Damascius (*Vit. Isidor.* 302) calls the Phoenician mother of the gods Astronoe. Perhaps the allusion to *Karthago* (=Neapolis) here, as below § 91, is due to Clitomachus the Carthaginian.

Belus: i.e. Baal or Bel ('Lord'). It was a title used for Melkarth, the Tyrian Hercules, and also for the chief of the Babylonian divinities, whom Herodotus identifies with Zeus. Diodorus (I 28) and the Greeks generally say that Belus was son of Libya and Poseidon, and father of Aegyptus and Danaus, and that he led a colony to Babylon. Herodotus (I 7) makes Ninus son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, son of Heracles. Professor Sayce thinks the Greek Heracles was derived from the Babylonian Gisdhubar through Melkarth. Compare Nonnus XL 400 *ἀστροχίτων Ἥρακλες, ἄναξ πυρός, ὄρχαμε κόσμου, Βῆλος ἐπ' Εὐφρήταο, Λιβὺς κεκλημένος Ἄμμων.* The Indian Hercules is called Sandes by Nonnus XXXIV 196, Dorsanes by Hesychius; Pliny (*N. H.* VI 16 speaks of his conquests in India, and mentions (VI 24) that his worship extended even to Taprobane, cf. Megasthenes (Didot fr. II pp. 404 and 418), who identifies him with Krishna.

sextus hic: 'the sixth is our own familiar Hercules', cf. II 6 *hujus adolescentis.*

ut jam docebo: this phrase naturally leads us to expect that the explanation referred to will follow at once, as in *Cluent.* 30 *acervatim jam reliqua dicam; Murena* 43 *dicam jam apertius; Cael.* 44 *dicam jam confidentius; Planc.* 27 *de qua vita jam dicam.* If anything were interposed, we should certainly expect it to be introduced by some sort of explanation or apology, not by a *quando enim*, which implies that what follows, follows in the natural course. The other reasons which have led me to transpose §§ 53—60 and insert them here, are (1) that they continue the previous argument; (2) that the commencement of § 53 has no reference to the argument of §§ 51, 52 on the divinity of material objects, but has a plain reference to the contrast drawn in §§ 40—42 between the vulgar and

the learned, *ii qui interiores scrutantur litteras*, called in § 53 *illos etiam qui non re sed opinione*, &c.; (3) that § 61 which immediately follows these sections, refers not to them, but to §§ 44 and 47 (*mentem, fidem, spem ...rerum vim habere videmus, non deorum*).

Ch. XXI § 53. **dicamus—contra illos etiam**: 'I cannot be content therefore merely to condemn the vulgar superstition (referred to in § 39); the Euhemerist theology, which is supported by the Stoics (cf. § 60), is just as much to be blamed' (cf. §§ 40, 41).

non re sed opinione: cf. below § 63 *confitemini longe aliter se rem habere atque hominum opinio sit;* II 71 *his fabulis spretis...deus pertinens per naturam cujusque rei, per terras Ceres, per maria Neptunus, alii per alia, poterunt intellegi qui qualesque sint, quoque eos nomine consuetudo nuncupaverit; quos deos et venerari et colere debemus;* II 66 *suscepit vita hominum consuetudoque communis ut beneficiis excellentes viros in caelum fama ac voluntate tollerent.* For the phrase itself cf. I 61 n.

Joves tres: so Lydus IV 48 *τινὲς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἡρωϊκὸν καὶ μεριστὸν λόγον* (i.e. the theory which splits up the gods into demigods) *τρεῖς Δίας εἶναι βούλονται, ἕνα μὲν Αἰθέρος, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τεχθῆναι, ἀφ' οὗ φασὶν Ἀθηνᾶν, τρίτον δὲ τὸν Κρῆτα,* also Arnob. IV 14, and with slight variation Clem. Al. *Protr.* p. 24, and Ampelius c. 9, quoted in the Appendix.

theologi: see above on § 42 *qui interiores scrutantur litteras.* The mythologists referred to are plainly Euhemerists like Diodorus.

patre Aethere: in the Hesiodic cosmogony the primaeval Chaos begets Erebus and Night, and from Night proceed Aether and Day. Hyginus continues the genealogy *ex Aethere et Die Terra, Caelum, Mare: ex Aethere et Terra Saturnus, Ops, Titanes,* &c. We have no early or independent authority for the relationship here assigned between Jupiter on the one side and Aether and Caelus (the masculine form is implied by the following *qui*) on the other.

Proserpinam—et Liberum: see on II 62 and below § 58; Lydus l. c. *οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν φυσικῶν τὸν Δία Ἰδαῖον εἶναι βούλονται καὶ τεχθῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ παρὰ Ἴδῃ ὁρωμένῳ οὐρανῷ, τῆς δὲ Κόρης πατέρα αὐτόν φασιν, τουτέστι τοῦ κόρου καὶ τῆς εὐωχίας αἴτιον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι.*

principem—belli: cf. II 167 *principe philosophiae Socrate.*

cujus sepulcrum ostenditur: cf. nn. on I 119.

Διόσκουροι: we nowhere else find this name applied to any of the following personages except the Tyndaridae, who in later times were confounded with the Cabeiri. Hesychius s. v. says it was also used of Amphion and Zethus, and we read in Diog. Laert. II 52 that it was given as a sort of nickname to the sons of Xenophon.

Anactes: so MSS, but most edd. read *Anaces* instead, according to the dictum of Moeris s. v. *Ἄνακες καὶ Ἀνάκιον Ἀττικῶς* (cf. *Ἀνακεῖον* Thuc. VIII 93), *Διόσκοροι καὶ Διοσκορεῖον Ἑλληνικῶς.* But even in Greek writers both forms occur, and it is not likely that a Latin scribe would have altered *Anaces*, if he had found it in his text. In Pausanias X 38 (*οἵτινες δὲ θεῶν*

εἰσὶν οἱ Ἄνακτες παῖδες, οὐ κατὰ ταὐτά ἐστιν εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν εἶναι Διοσκούρους, οἱ δὲ Κουρῆτας, οἱ δὲ πλέον τι ἐπίστασθαι νομίζοντες Καβείρους λέγουσιν) Siebelis writes ἄνακες against the MSS, and so in II 22. Compare the *Orphic Hymn* XXXVIII 20 Κουρῆτες Κορύβαντες ἀνάκτορες, εὐδύνατοί τε ἐν Σαμοθρήκῃ ἄνακτες ὁμοῦ, Ζηνὸς κόροι αὐτοί, πνοίαι ἀέναοι ψυχοτρόφοι ἠεροειδεῖς· οἵτε καὶ οὐράνιοι Δίδυμοι κλῄζεσθ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ...ἐπιπνείοιτε Ἄνακτες; Alciphron III 68 οἱ Σωτῆρες Ἄνακτες. According to Aelian *V. H.* IV 5 Menestheus first gave to the Tyndaridae the names Ἄνακτες and Σωτῆρες: similarly Plutarch *Thes.* 33, who however has the form Ἄνακες, for which he suggests various etymologies. The term ἀνάκτορον was used especially for the shrine of deities worshipped with mystic rites, cf. Lobeck *Agl.* p. 59, Herod. IX 65 τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον, Hippolyt. *Haeres.* (p. 152 Duncker) ἕστηκε δὲ ἀγάλματα δύο ἐν τῷ Σαμοθρᾴκων ἀνακτόρῳ, and p. 164 ἔστι γὰρ λεγόμενον τὸ μυστήριον Ἐλευσὶν καὶ Ἀνακτόρειον.

rege Jove: on Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς see Preller I 115. The title is probably added here as explanatory of *Anactes*: they were 'princes' as being sons of the king of the gods. In reality the name is a survival of an older religion in which they held the highest rank. So the Cabeiri and Dioscuri are called μεγάλοι θεοί (Lobeck *l. c.* p. 1229 foll.).

Proserpina: we do not find this stated elsewhere of Tritopatreus or of the Anactes or Dioscuri, but the following notes exhibit similar statements in regard to Eubuleus and Dionysus, cf. below § 58.

Tritopatreus: cf. Suidas s. v. Δήμων (fl. about 300 B.C.) ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι φησὶν ἀνέμους εἶναι τοὺς Τριτοπάτορας· Φιλόχορος δὲ (a younger contemporary of Demon, who also wrote on the antiquities of Attica) τοὺς Τριτοπάτρεις πάντων γεγονέναι πρώτους. 'Phanodemus (a writer of uncertain date B.C.) in his sixth book (of antiquities) says that the Athenians alone worship and pray to them for offspring, when they are about to marry', ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὀρφέως Φυσικῷ ὀνομάζεσθαι τοὺς Τριτοπάτορας Ἀμαλκείδην καὶ Πρωτοκλέοντα, θυρωροὺς καὶ φύλακας ὄντας τῶν ἀνέμων. Ὁ δὲ τὸ Ἐξηγητικὸν ποιήσας (a treatise on the marriage ceremony) Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς φησὶν αὐτοὺς εἶναι παῖδας, ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτῶν Κόττον Βριάρεων καὶ Γύγην. Lobeck explains this by a reference to Arist. *An.* I 5 τοῦτο πέπονθε καὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς καλουμένοις ἔπεσι λόγος· φησὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων, φερομένην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων. In the marriage ceremonies these deities of the wind were invoked, as the first parents of mankind, to breathe into the new-born children the breath of life, identified with the soul. Hence in *Orph. H.* XXVIII 8 they are called Τιτῆνες ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων...ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγαὶ πάντων θνητῶν πολυμόχθων, cf. ib. XXXVIII 20 cited under *Anactes*. For the formation of the word see Pollux III 7 ὁ πάππου ἢ τήθης πατὴρ πρόπαππος, τάχα δὲ τοῦτον ἂν εἴποις τριτοπάτορα, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης. As this is the only passage in which Tritopatreus is reckoned among the Dioscuri or Anactes, the only passage indeed in which the name is found in the singular, it was natural to emend it: thus Hemsterhuis (on Lucian *Dial. Deor.* 26) suggests *Tritopatores Zagreus*, Lobeck *Brito Zagreus*: a more plausible emenda-

tion is that by Rinck, *Tritopatores Triptolemus*, for Triptolemus and Eubuleus are sons of Dysaules according to the Orphic tradition reported by Pausan. I 14 § 2, and Clem. Al. *Protr.* § 20. I do not think however that it is safe to make any change. It is evident that the tradition followed by Cicero's authority departs very widely from the ordinary tradition; and in that strange intermingling of mythologies which took place during the Alexandrian epoch, it seems not impossible that the name Tritopatreus, belonging to the early Attic mythology, may have been connected with the equally ancient Anactes.

Eubuleus: this is properly an epithet or name of Dionysus 'good in counsel', as we read in Plut. *Conv.* p. 714, on the text ὅτι βουλεύεσθαι παρὰ πότον οὐχ ἧττον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ Περσικόν (he might have referred also to the Germans and Norsemen); hence οἱ πάμπαν ἀρχαῖοι τὸν Διόνυσον αὐτὸν εὐβουλῆ προσεῖπον. So, in the Orphic Hymns, Bacchus is addressed as Εὐβουλεῦ πολύβουλε Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείης (XXIX 6), and Εὐβουλεῦ μιτρηφόρε θυρσιτινάκτα...πρωτογόν' Ἠρικέπαιε, θεῶν πατὲρ ἠδὲ καὶ υἱέ (LI 4). In *H.* XXVIII 8 Persephone is styled μῆτερ ἐριβρεμέτου πολυμόρφου Εὐβουλῆος, while in *H.* XL 8 the same is said of Demeter. In *H.* LXXI Artemis is called daughter of Eubuleus. Dionysus is also spoken of as son of Eubuleus (XLI 1) θεσμοφόρον καλέω ναρθηκοφόρον Διόνυσον, σπέρμα πολύμνηστον πολυώνυμον Εὐβουλῆος. Again Eubuleus is identified with Pluto (addressed in *H.* XVII 12 as ὦ πολύδεγμον Εὔβουλε), with Adonis (addressed in *H.* LV as Εὐβουλεῦ πολύμορφε, τροφεῦ πάντων ἀρίδηλε), with Phanes, fr. 7 (ap. Macr. *Sat.* I 18) ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον Εὐβουλῆά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἀρίδηλον.

tertii—Atrei filii: we are nowhere told that Atreus had sons so named. The famous soothsayer Melampus, who is said to have introduced the worship of Dionysus into Greece, is entirely unconnected with Atreus. Then we read, in Nonnus XIV 16, of an Alcon, one of the Cabeiri, who was son of Hephaestus and Cabeiro and brother of Eurymedon. Tmolus is a generally accepted emendation by Dav. for *Eviolus* of MSS (connected with Εὔιος?) because the former name occurs amongst the ancestors of Atreus. I have thought it better to keep to the MSS, as the extraordinary eccentricity of C.'s mythology really leaves nothing on which to build conjecture.

§ 54. **Musae quattuor**: so Tzetzes on Hes. *Op.* p. 6, except that the father is with him the first and not (as with C.) the second Jove, Ἄρατος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἀστρικῶν τέσσαρας (τὰς Μούσας) λέγει Διὸς τοῦ Αἰθέρος καὶ Πλουσίας νύμφης, Ἀρχὴν Μελέτην Θελξινόην καὶ Ἀοιδήν. Mnaseas also, a contemporary of Callimachus, spoke of four Muses *filias Telluris et Caeli* (Arnob. III 37, where we are further told that Ephorus made three Muses, Myrtilus seven, Crates eight). Pausanias (IX 29) mentions that one tradition recognised only three Muses named Μελέτη Μνήμη and Ἀοιδή. Compare Diod. IV 7, Cornutus c. 14.

natae Thelxinoe: the readings are very uncertain: see critical notes.

Some MSS have *et* after *natae*, and as the mother's name is given in the other cases, Heind. and Creuzer suggest that it has been lost here; the latter would supply *Neda* from Pausan. VIII 47, where she appears among the nymphs attendant on the youthful Zeus. His reasons however for the selection of this particular name appear to me to have very little weight.

Piero natae: the edd. appear to be justified in omitting *Jove tertio* before *Piero*, cf. Pausan. IX 29 (after mentioning the three Muses as above) *χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερόν φασι Πίερον Μακεδόνα...ἐλθόντα ἐς Θεσπιὰς ἐννέα τε Μούσας καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ νῦν μεταθέσθαι σφίσι...εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ αὐτῷ θυγατέρας ἐννέα Πιέρῳ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἅπερ ταῖς θεαῖς τεθῆναι καὶ ταύταις.* Ovid relates that these Pierian Muses, having dared to compete with those of Helicon, were turned into crows (*Met.* V 300). Epicharmus gave to Pierus a different wife, Pimpleis, and only seven daughters, named after various rivers (Tzetz. on Hesiod *Op.* p. 6). Ovid makes the wife Euippe. It is only here that we find Antiope named as the mother of the Muses.

Mnemosyne: see Hes. *Theog.* 50—80.

isdem nominibus: abl. of quality, Roby § 1232, cf. I 83 *his vocabulis esse deos.*

proximae superiores: cf. II 53 *proximum inferiorem* n.; Mu. refers to Madv. *Adv.* II p. 243 n. [add Gell. XVII 2 § 1 *biduo proximo superiore.* J. E. B. M.]

cumque tu Solem: 'whereas you derive the name Sol from his solitude'. Cf. II 68 and Lydus *Mens.* II 3 (Ἥλιος) Ἀπόλλων λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἄπωθεν εἶναι τῶν πολλῶν· καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτὸν σόλεμ ἤτοι μόνον λέγουσιν, 'he is called however by many names' Ἥλιος, Ὧρος, Ὄσιρις, ἄναξ, Διὸς υἱός, Ἀπόλλων. The common tradition makes the Titans, Hyperion and Theia, parents of the Sun (Hes. *Theog.* 371): Arnobius (IV 20) follows Cic. in a blundering way, making Jupiter the father and Hyperiona the mother: see Appendix.

tertius Vulcano: so Suidas s. v. *μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Ἡφαίστου τοῦ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου Ἥλιος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο*, see below § 55, and Sayce *Herod.* p. 318 'at Memphis the dynasty of gods was composed as follows, (1) Ptah or Hephaestus, the father of the gods, (2) Ra, the sun-god, his son'; also Rawlinson *Herod.* II p. 289.

Heliopolis: the On of Scripture, where Joseph found his wife, and Plato and Eudoxus are said to have studied, is situated nearly at the point of the Delta. The obelisk, which still stands there, was erected about the year 2050 B.C. See the art. in the *Dict. of the Bible.*

quartus—Rhodi: the text is very doubtful. As to the facts, we know that Rhodes was sacred to the Sun, whose colossal statue there was esteemed one of the wonders of the world. Pindar (*Olymp.* VII 23) calls Rhodus Παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτας, Ἀελίοιό τε νύμφαν, and tells how Helios *Ῥόδῳ μιχθεὶς τέκεν ἑπτὰ σοφώτατα νοήματ' ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνδρῶν παραδεξαμένους παῖδας, ὧν εἷς μὲν Κάμειρον πρεσβύτατόν τε Ἰάλυσον ἔτεκεν Λίνδον τ'* (l. 130), cf. Tzetzes on Lycophron 922. Homer speaks of the Rhodians as distributed between

the three cities founded by these eponymous heroes, *Il.* II 655 (Tlepolemus led to Troy those) οἳ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες, Λίνδον Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον. The city of Rhodes itself was not built till B.C. 408, when the three ancient tribes or states combined for that purpose. The Rhodian genealogy is thus given by Diod. v 56: 'Helios and Rhodus had seven sons, of whom only two, Ochimus and Cercaphus, continued in the island: these joined in building the city of Achaia (also mentioned by Ergias the Rhodian ap. Athenaeus VIII p. 360); of which Ochimus was the first ruler. After his death he was succeeded by his brother Cercaphus, who had married his daughter and had by her three sons', the eponymi before-named. Starting with this as his foundation, Creuzer proposes to read *quartus is, cui heroicis temporibus Achaiae conditores Rhode peperisse dicitur, avum et patrem Ialysi, Camiri et Lindi, unde Rhodii:* Heind. would read *cui h. t. Acantho Rhodi peperisse dicitur Cercaphum, quem dicunt genuisse Ialysum Camirum Lindum Rhodii;* Swainson *cui h. t. Cercaphum Rhode peperisse dicitur patrem I. C. L. unde Rhodii.* As far as any sense is to be got out of the MS reading, it is altogether opposed to the common tradition; which speaks of the island of Rhodes, not as the birth-place of Helios, but as raised up out of the sea to be his portion, when the gods distributed among themselves the various countries of the earth. Again the name of Acantho is unknown in connexion with Helios. The nymph Rhodus or Rhode is usually represented as daughter of Poseidon and Amphitrite or Halia, and as the bride, never the mother, of Helios. Whatever may have been the original reading, it seems to have been early changed into something like its present form, as *Rhodi* appears in the locative both in Ampelius and Arnobius, and the latter makes Acantho the mother of Sol. See Appendix.

[**heroicis temporibus**: cf. *Div.* I 1 *vetus opinio est jam usque ab heroicis ducta temporibus.* Swainson.]

Colchis—procreavisse: cf. Apollod. I 9 § 1 Φρίξος ἦλθεν εἰς Κόλχους, ὧν Αἰήτης ἐβασίλευσε παῖς Ἡλίου καὶ Περσηΐδος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Κίρκης καὶ Πασιφάης, see on § 48. We find the form *Aeeta*, like *poeta*, Ov. *Her.* XII 29, see below on § 45. *Colchis*, locative of the name of the people used for the country, as in Ennius *fr. trag.* 286, 311.

Ch. XXII § 55. **Vulcani**: see Ampelius and Lydus quoted in Appendix.

Apollinem eum: sc. *natum ferunt;* cf. II 61 *cui Proserpinam*, where perhaps even *nuptam* was an unnecessary addition. Sch. cites *Brut.* 105 *hunc qui audierant prudentes homines, in quibus familiaris noster, L. Gellius,...canorum oratorem fuisse dicebat*, where the predicate to *prud. hom.* is wanting: this however should rather be regarded as a case of attraction.

cujus in tutela Athenas: Apollo was called πατρῷος, because he was father of Ion (Plato *Euthyd.* 301) the eponymous hero of the Athenians. Clemens *Protr.* II 28 gives Aristotle as the authority for the story that Apollo was son of Heph. and Ath. More commonly Erichthonius is made

their son, as by Apollod. III 14 § 6 τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς Κρανάου θυγατρὸς Ἀτθίδος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, foll.

Nilo natus Phthas: cf. Diog. L. *prooem.* 1 Αἰγύπτιοι Νείλου γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἥφαιστον, ὃν ἄρξαι φιλοσοφίας, Palaeph. in Gale p. 64, Lydus in Appendix, Herod. III 37 with Rawlinson's nn., Amm. Marc. XVII 4. Phthas was identified with Hephaestus, like Athene with Neith, from similarity of sound. See above on § 54 *tertius Vulcano*, and *Nilo natus* § 42.

Jove et Júnone: the ordinary tradition, as in Homer *Il.* I 578. In two of the parallel writers Saturn is made the father, see App.

Memalio: this name is altogether unknown. Lydus has Μαντοῦς (corrected Μαντῴος by Creuzer), Ampelius *Miletis* (corrected *Melites* by Wölfflin): could it be intended for Κηδαλίων, the instructor of Hephaestus, on whom see Preller I 141[1]?

Vulcaniae: Pliny, speaking of the Aeolian or Liparaean Isles, says (III 14) they are called *Hephaestiades a Graecis, a nostris Vulcaniae.* Livy employs the same name (XXI 49, 51), so there seems no reason why Cic. should have used the Imp. *nominabantur*, as if the name had gone out of use.

§ 56. **Caelo—Die**: hence he is brother of Venus § 59. Cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* IV 577 *quattuor Mercurios tradunt, unum Caeli et Diei filium, amatorem Proserpinae* &c. cited in Appendix. Of Cic. however Servius says, in the same note, referring to the *N. D.*, that he held *tres esse Mercurios, superum, terrenum et inferum.*

natura: Herodotus II 51 says this was the case with the Samothracian gods (one of whom was Casmilus identified with Mercurius), and with the Hermae of Athens in accordance with the old Pelasgian usage; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 797 F, Hippol. *Ref. Haeres.* V 7 l. 45 foll., ib. 8 l. 85. The symbol was intended to denote fertility, but was explained by the mysticizing Neo-Platonists as follows, δείκνυσι τὸν σπερματικὸν λόγον τὸν διήκοντα διὰ πάντων (Porph. ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* III 2 § 27). For the connexion with Proserpina or Brimo, see Propert. II 2. 11, and below § 60, where Cupido is called son of Merc. and Diana, who is often confused with Proserpina (see below § 58), also Tzetzes on Lyc. 698. Like φύσις (defined by Hippocrates as αἰτία γενέσεως 'the ground of production'), *natura* came to be used euphemistically for the generative organs, whether male or female (see *Div.* II 145, Minuc. F. 9); so *loci* above II 128, and *naturalia* in Celsus; cf. Beier on *Off.* I 127. [Add to lexx. Varro *R. R.* II 4 § 10, Suet. *Tib.* 45 fin. J. E. B. M.]

Valentis Phoronidis: this agrees to a certain extent with the story of the birth of Asclepius, as given by Pausanias II 26 and with slight variations by Apollodorus III 10 § 3 'Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas, being with child by Apollo, was married to Ἴσχυς (*Valens*, cf. *Digitus*= Δάκτυλος above) son of Elatus; for this unfaithfulness she was put to death by Artemis, and the child Asclepius was saved from the funeral

pyre by Hermes', cf. below § 57 on the second Aesculapius. But we nowhere else (except in the parallel passage from Arnobius given in the Appendix) find Trophonius identified with Hermes, or represented as the son of Ischys and Coronis. He is the son of Erginus or of Apollo (Pausan. IX 37, Hom. *H. Apoll.* 296, Schol. on Aristoph. *Nub.* 508), and is himself entitled Zeus Trophonius (see on § 49) as being connected with the unseen world, just as he is here entitled Mercury, i.e. Ἑρμῆς Χθόνιος. The confusion between Troph. and Asclep. seems to have arisen from some resemblance in the rites with which they were worshipped, on which see Pausan. IX 39. Where the discrepancy from the common tradition is in any case so great, there seems no justification for changing the MS reading *Phoronidis* into *Coronidis.* Ovid uses the patronymic *Phoronis* for Io, as being a descendant of Phoroneus (*Met.* II 524), king of Argos. He makes (l. 569) Coroneus (Dr L. Schmitz in *Dict. of Ant.* reads Phoroneus), not Phlegyas, the father of Coronis. Again Strabo tells us (X p. 471) that Hesiod mentioned a daughter of Phoroneus, from whom were descended the mountain nymphs and the Curetes. Phoronis is also the name of one of the lost Epics of Greece, in the fragments of which there is a reference to Hermes and the Idean Dactyls (Lobeck *Agl.* 1157).

qui sub terris habetur idem Trophonius: 'the subterranean deity who is also believed to be Trophonius'. The parallel in Arnobius (*sub terra est alter, Trophonius qui esse jactatur*, see App.) seems to show that the words must be thus taken. Hermes was called χθόνιος, both as presiding over the hidden treasures of the earth and as the conductor of the dead.

Penelopa: so Herod. II 145 ἐκ Πηνελόπης καὶ Ἑρμέω λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν. Serv. ad *Georg.* I 16 refers to Pindar as the authority for the legend; see also on *Aen.* II 43, and Hemsterhuis on Lucian *Dial. Deor.* 22. Preller (I 586) suggests that the name Πηνελόπη (from πήνη, πηνίζω) may have had a general sense, like our 'spinster'.

Aegyptii nefas habent nominare: so the Romans according to Plutarch (*Mor.* p. 278 F) forbade the name of their tutelary deity to be uttered; compare the feeling of the Hebrews about the ineffable Name. I am not aware of any other Greek or Roman authority who makes two Egyptian gods answering to the Greek Hermes; but Thoth was worshipped in Hermopolis under the two forms of the Ibis and the Ape; and Lenormant in his *Anc. Hist. of the East* vol. I p. 315 tr. distinguishes between the first Thoth, who 'was the celestial Hermes, or the personification of the divine intelligence', and 'the second Hermes, who was only an imitation of the first, and passed for the author of all the social institutions of Egypt'. Ampelius and Servius, following in the main the same tradition as Cic., make one god out of his 4th and 5th. As far as I know, it is never stated that Theuth was regarded as an ineffable name. Herodotus however often makes a mystery of the name Osiris (e.g. II 86, 132, 170), and professes his unwillingness to utter the sacred legends, where it was not absolutely necessary.

Pheneatae: see on § 42 *de tripode*, and the art. on Pheneus in *Dict. of Geog.* It is a district in the N. E. of Arcadia shut in by the spurs of Mt Cyllene. The waters of the valley are carried off by a channel, said to have been made by Hercules, which conducts them to a natural tunnel (Katavothra) in the limestone rock, and the river which issues from this is called the Ladon. Pausanias tells us (VIII 14 § 7) θεῶν τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φενεᾶται μάλιστα, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσιν Ἕρμαια καὶ ναός ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ σφίσι καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου: he also mentions the sacred springs, at which it was said the nymphs had washed the newly-born Hermes (ib. 16 § 1).

Argum—profugisse: apparently this is the earliest passage in which the slaying of Argus is connected with the appearance of Hermes in Egypt. It would be naturally suggested by the wanderings of Io. As to the civilizing influence of Hermes see Plato *Phaedr.* 274 ἤκουσα περὶ Ναύκρατιν τῆς Αἰγύπτου γενέσθαι τῶν ἐκεῖ παλαιῶν τινὰ θεῶν, οὗ καὶ τὸ ὄρνεον τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἶβιν, αὐτῷ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ δαίμονι εἶναι Θεύθ. τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτον ἀριθμόν τε καὶ λογισμὸν εὑρεῖν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν, ἔτι δὲ πεττείας τε καὶ κυβείας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα foll.; *Phileb.* 18. Lactantius I 6 after quoting the present passage, continues *idem oppidum condidit, quod etiam nunc Graece vocatur* Ἑρμόπολις, *et Saitae colunt eum religiose. Qui, tametsi homo, fuit tamen antiquissimus et instructissimus omni genere doctrinae adeo, ut ei multarum rerum et artium scientia Trismegisto cognomen imponeret...Ipsius haec verba sunt* ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς, ὁ δὲ εἷς ὀνόματος οὐ προσδέεται· ἔστι γὰρ ὁ ὢν ἀνώνυμος. For the Neo-Platonist writings which passed under his name, see articles in *Dict. of Biogr.* and esp. in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* under *Hermes*.

Aegyptum profugisse: there is no need for inserting *in* with Ba., cf. *Sardiniam venit Leg. Man.* 34, *Aegyptum iter habere* Caes. *B. C.* III 106, and *Aegyptum proficisci* Tac. *Ann.* II 59, Nep. *Dat.* 4 § 1, Madv. § 232 obs. 4, Draeg. § 176. 2.

Theuth: Philo Byblius ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* I 9 § 19, professing to give the Phoenician theology, says that the first-born of all things is Τάαυτος ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τὴν εὕρεσιν ἐπινοήσας καὶ τῆς τῶν ὑπομνημάτων γραφῆς κατάρξας...ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ἐκάλεσαν Θωύθ, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ Θώθ, Ἑρμῆν δὲ Ἕλληνες μετέφρασαν.

primus mensis: Herodotus tells us (II 82) that the Egyptians had learnt to which god each month and day is sacred; and we read in Plut. *Is. Osir.* p. 378, that the feast of Thoth was in the 1st month, which was therefore called by his name; cf. Censorinus 18 § 10, 21 § 10, Macrob. *Sat.* I 15, Rawlinson Herod. *App.* 2 to Bk. II. In B.C. 24 the 1st day of Thoth coincided with Aug. 29.

§ 57. **Aesculapiorum**: this is a specimen of the arbitrary procedure of the later mythologists. The so-called Phoenician Aesculapius, one of the Cabeiri, is omitted, and the Arcadian deity is split up into three because of some slight difference in the local traditions. Lydus makes the Apollo, who is father of the first Aesculapius, to be the son of Vulcan, and there-

fore the patron of Athens: if we make *Apollinis* antecedent to *quem Arcades colunt*, it would seem to identify him with Apollo Νόμιος; but in that case we should probably have had *ejus* before *quem*.

specillum: see a full account of its use in *Dict. of Ant.* s.v. *chirurgia*, Foes *Oecon. Hippocr.* and the illustration in Rich's *Companion*. The corresponding Greek verb is metaphorically used by Cic. *Att.* XII 51 τοῦτο δὲ μηλώσῃ 'you will probe this'.

obligavisse: cf. *Tusc.* II 38 *medicum requirens a quo obligetur* [*Bell. Afr.* 88 § 4, Sen. *Ep.* 28 § 8. J. E. B. M.]: Celsus uses the word *deligo* in the same sense. The former refers properly to the supporting of a broken limb by splints; the latter to the tying down of the broken ends so as to prevent their protruding.

Mercurii frater: see on § 56.

fulmine percussus: 'after being struck by lightning'. According to the usual story he was slain by Zeus for raising the dead to life, see Pindar *Pyth.* III 1—105 cited by Clem. Al. *Protr.* § 30, and *Dict. of Biog.*

Cynosuris: this is usually understood of a district of Sparta; whence Callimachus (*Diana* 94) calls the Spartan hounds Κυνοσουρίδες. See Clem. Al. l. c. Ἀσκληπιὸς κεῖται κεραυνωθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσούριδος ὁρίοις. Sch. however notes that a Mount Cynosura is mentioned by Steph. Byz. p. 490, and suggests that there may have been a Cynosura in the vale of Cynuria (Pausan. VIII 27). This Cynuria was the parent state of Gortys, where there was a tomb of Aesculapius, see below on *Lusio flumine*. Possibly Cynosura is a mistake for the well-known Lycosura in Arcadia. The most usual tradition makes Aesculapius buried at Epidaurus (Cyrill. *C. Jul.* VI p. 200); but in a later passage of the same book (VIII p. 288) it is said that none knew where he was buried.

Arsippus: he is not mentioned in any independent authority: perhaps there may be some confusion with Leucippus.

Arsinoe: according to the Messenians Aesculapius was the son of Apollo and Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus (Paus. III 12, 26, IV 3. Asclepiades, a disciple of Isocrates, is cited to the same effect by the Schol. on Pindar in Heyne's n. on Apollod. III 10. 3). Pausanias tells a story of an Arcadian who presumed to question the Delphian god himself on the subject, and was informed by the oracle that the real mother was Coronis (ib. II 26).

purgationem: see n. on II 126. [Celsus II 11 § 2 refers to Asclepiades on this subject. In VII 12 he treats of *dentis evulsio*. R.]

dentis evulsio: Herodotus (II 84) mentions that in Egypt each physician treated a single disorder, some undertaking to cure diseases of the eye, others diseases of the head, the teeth, and so on. Gold stopping has been found in some of the mummies. [Add to lexx. Plin. Val. IV 29, Cael. Aurel. *Acut.* III § 83. J. E. B. M.]

non longe a Lusio: i.e. at Gortyna situated on the river Λούσιος, a tributary of Alpheius, so called because the infant Zeus was there

washed by the nymphs (Pausan. VIII 28). At this place there was a temple of Aesculapius (Paus. V 7).

sepulcrum et lucus ostenditur: for the Sing. cf. passages quoted below on § 43 *deum*.

Ch. XXIII. **Apollinum antiquissimus**: cf. § 55 and Clemens and Ampelius quoted in the Appendix.

Corybantis filius: this is the converse of the ordinary story given by Apollodorus I 3 § 4, Θαλείας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγένοντο Κορύβαντες. We find other traditions in Strabo X 3 p. 472, 'some say the Corybantes are children of Athene and Helios, others of Cronos, others of Zeus and Calliope'; 'Pherecydes says that there were nine Κύρβαντας, the children of Apollo and the nymph Rhytia, and that they lived in Samothrace', cf. Lob. *Aglaoph.* p. 1141. In Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* V 9 l. 45 Corybas is identified with Adonis, Attis, Osiris, &c.

natus in Creta: the Cretans were the first worshippers at the temple of Delphi and were established there as ministers of the god. Apollo Delphinius was worshipped from an early period at Cnossus in Crete (Preller I 199). This worship was no doubt introduced by the Dorians in place of the indigenous worship of the bull-headed Zeus: hence the *cum Jove certamen*, cf. Müller *Dorians* I 226 tr. In the Κρῆτες of Euripides (fr. 476 Dind.) we find the Idean Zeus identified with Zagreus and connected with Bacchus and the Curetes.

cum Jove certamen: though no other writer mentions this contest, it is perhaps alluded to in Fulgentius (*Frag. Hist.* III p. 152 Didot) *Mnaseas tertio Europae libro scripsit Apollinem, postquam a Jove ictus et interfectus est, a vespillonibus ad sepulturam elatum esse.* It may be compared with those between other gods for the possession of particular countries, e.g. between Poseidon and Athene for Attica.

ex Hyperboreis: they were supposed to dwell in a land of perpetual sunshine on the other side of the Rhipean Mountains and the cold blasts of the north wind, see *Dict. of Biog.* and Preller I 189 foll., and, for the legend of their visit to Delphi, the verses of Boeo recorded by Pausan. X 5 § 4, Pind. *Ol.* III 25, *Isthm.* VI 34, *Pyth.* X 31, Herod. IV 33, Diod. II 47. Alcaeus (fr. 1 Bergk) agrees with C. in representing Apollo as himself coming from the Hyperboreans to settle at Delphi. The prophet Abaris was said to be a Hyperborean priest of Apollo (Herod. IV 36).

Νόμιον: (fr. νόμος pasture) used as an epithet of Apollo by Theocritus XXV 21, of Aristaeus by Pindar *Pyth.* IX 115 ὀπάονα μήλων, Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, also of Pan (Hom. *H.* XIX 5), Hermes and other rural gods; cf. Virgil's *pastor ab Amphryso*, and Pausan. VII 20 § 2. The explanation of the name here given is mere ignorance, though it was repeated by Proclus (see Welcker *Gr. Gött.* I 486). In Clem. Al. *Protr.* II 28 and Ampelius, this Apollo is called son of Silenus, and Porphyry (ap. Cyrill. *c. Jul.* X p. 342 Spanheim) reports that Pythagoras wrote an inscription on the tomb of Apollo at Delphi, speaking of him as 'the son of Silenus, slain

by Python'. Perhaps *Sileni filius* has been lost after *quartus*. Nowhere else do we read that he was the legislator of Arcadia or born there. Legislation was however regarded as an office of the Delphian Apollo, cf. Plat. *Rep.* IV 427 (we leave to Apollo at Delphi) τά τε μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ πρῶτα τῶν νομοθετημάτων...οὗτος γὰρ δήπου ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πάτριος ἐξηγητὴς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται, *Legg.* I 632 ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς λεγομένοις νόμοις τοῖς τε τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, οὓς Μίνως τε καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐθέτην, ἔνεστι ταῦτα πάντα, Diod. I 94, Strabo XVI 38, Cic. *Div.* I 96. So above Mercury is called the legislator of Egypt.

§ 58. **prima Jovis et Proserpinae**: Ampelius is the only other writer who gives this parentage. Artemis is however sometimes identified both with Persephone and Hecate, as in the Orphic hymn cited by Porphyry ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* IV 23 ἤδ' ἐγώ εἰμι Κόρη πολυφάσματος κ.τ.λ.; and we have had many exx. of the confusion between parent and child, e.g. § 53 on Proserpina.

pinnatum Cupidinem: Pausanias (IX 27) says that Olen calls Eileithyia (i.e. Artemis, see on II 68) mother of Eros. The winged Eros is spoken of by Plato *Phaedr.* 252, Eur. *Hipp.* 1270, Aristoph. *Av.* 574 and 697, where the Scholiast says that it was only in later times that Eros and Victory were represented with wings.

pater Upis: this is another mythological ἅπ. λεγ. According to Herodotus (IV 35) Opis and Arge were two Hyperborean maidens who came to Delos with Apollo and Artemis, and were invoked by the Delian women and the Ionians generally in a hymn composed by Olen. In the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* p. 371 we are told that the Magian Gobryas was shown two brazen plates at Delos, giving an account of what befel the soul after death, and that these plates were said to have been brought there from the Hyperboreans by Opis and Hecaergos. In Callim. *Dian.* 204 Opis is addressed as Οὖπι ἄνασσ' εὐῶπι φαεσφόρε, καὶ δέ σε κείνης Κρηταέες καλέουσιν ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ νύμφης, where see Spanheim; also ib. 240; Macrob. *Sat.* V 22; Serv. ad *Aen.* XI 532 *alii putant Opim et Hecaergon nutritores Apollinis et Dianae fuisse: hinc Opim ipsam Dianam, Apollinem vero Hecaergon.* We do not elsewhere find Opis or Upis regarded as masculine. Callimachus (*Del.* 292) makes her a daughter of Boreas, and gives her two sisters Loxo and Hecaerge; Virgil (*Aen.* XI 532 and 836) introduces her among the attendant nymphs of Diana; Palaephatus (*Incred.* § 32) says it is a Lacedaemonian name for Artemis; finally we read in Athen. XIV 10 that hymns to Artemis were called οὔπιγγοι. The name is generally derived from ὄπις = νέμεσις, but Preller explains it as 'the eye of night', i.e. the moon. Of Glauce we do not read elsewhere in this connexion.

primum Jove et Proserpina: so Ampelius and Lydus in Appendix. The latter cites Terpander the Lesbian as the authority for the tradition.

Compare also Arr. *Anab.* II 16 'the Athenians worship *τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης... καὶ ὁ Ἴακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τούτῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ, οὐχὶ τῷ Θηβαίῳ ἐπᾴδεται*', and Clem. Al. *Protr.* 16 *μίγνυται δ' ὁ γεννήσας οὑτοσὶ Ζεὺς τῇ Φερεφάττῃ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρί...κύει καὶ ἡ Φερέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον*, Orphic Hymn XXIX 6, Hyg. *Fab.* 155 and 167. This Dionysus is frequently identified with Zagreus and Sabazius.

Nilo: see above on Hercules β (41), Vulcanus β (55), Mercurius δ (56). Herodotus makes Dionysus the same as Osiris (II 42, 48, 144), who is sometimes confounded with the Nile; cf. Plut. *Is. et Os.* § 35 p. 364.

Nysam interemisse: this is not stated elsewhere. Nysa or Nyssa is usually the birthplace of Dionysus; hence Heind. after Marsus reads *condidisse* for *interemisse*. There were many places of this name in different parts of the world each claiming some special connexion with the god, see Herodotus II 146 with the note in Rawlinson's ed. Diodorus (66—69) however reports on the authority of Dionysius the mythographer, that Linus, in the so-called Phrygian poem, represented Dionysus as the son of Ammon and Amalthea, entrusted by his father to the charge of Nysa, daughter of Aristaeus. Hyginus mentions Nysa among the Oceanids who had the charge of the infant Bacchus and were restored to youth by Medea at his request. If the reading is correct, the allusion may possibly be to the cutting up of the body before renovation as in the case of Pelias. Or Nysa, the nurse, may have been confounded with Semele, the mother (Lydus IV p. 94 makes Nysa the mother of the Indian Hercules), whose death may be said to have been caused by the son. Another explanation, suggested by Creuzer, is derived from Lydus' statement that *νύσσα* means *ὁ καμπτὴρ καὶ περικύλισις τοῦ χρόνου*: he connects this with the story (told by Diod. III 71 and at greater length by Nonnus XVIII 237 foll.) of the first exploit of Dionysus, in which he destroyed the monster Κάμπη, whilst on his journey to Nysa; and supposes this to mean the blotting out of the signs of the zodiac by the sun, as he passes through them. Perhaps however we should read *Nysum;* see below for his story. Human sacrifice was not unknown in the worship of Bacchus even as late as the time of Plutarch, as we see by his account of the sacrifice of a maiden at the yearly festival of the Agrionia held at Orchomenos (*Qu. Graec.* p. 299 F).

It is rather curious that the phrase *dicitur interemisse* is also used above of Mercurius and below of Minerva. If the original reading were *Nysae d. interiisse*, this might be explained by the importance attached to the death of Dionysus (Osiris) in the later mysteries, cf. Clem. *Protr.* § 17, Lactant. I 22, Firmicus 6. Though we are not told in so many words that it was at Nysa he was murdered by the Titans, yet we may infer this from the fact that the murder was supposed to have taken place whilst he was still a child under the care of the Curetes.

Cabiro: corrected from *Caprio* to suit the parallels in Ampelius and Lydus. According to Mnaseas, a pupil of Eratosthenes, there were three

Cabiri, Axierus, Axiokersa and Axiokersus, corresponding to Demeter, Persephone and Hades (*Aglaoph.* p. 1221). The last is identified with Bacchus by Heraclitus ap. Clem. Al. *Protr.* p. 30 ωὑτὸς δὲ Ἀΐδης καὶ Διόνυσος ὅτεῳ μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσι.

Asiae praefuisse: cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 13—17. The story of his conquest of India became very popular after the time of Alexander.

Sabazia: Demosthenes, in depicting the miserable bringing-up of his rival Aeschines, describes these rites of the Phrygian Sabazius or Zagreus, sometimes identified with Zeus, more often with Dionysus (*Coron.* p. 313), cf. Strabo x 471, Firmicus 11, and *Aglaoph.* p. 1046 foll., Diod. IV 4 'some tell of a much earlier Dionysus (than the son of Semele), φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι, τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον'.

Jove et Luna: as Luna is identified with Proserpina, this would agree with the parentage of the 1st Dionysus. Herodotus gives Selene and Dionysus as the equivalents of Isis and Osiris (II 47). In Ampelius and Lydus Semele is made the mother of this 4th Dionysus: or should we read Σελήνη there?

sacra Orphica: see Herod. II 86 τὰ Ὀρφικὰ καλεόμενα καὶ Βακχικά, and the *Dict. of Biog.* under *Orpheus.*

confici: cf. Nepos *Hann.* 2 § 4 *divina res dum conficiebatur.*

Niso: also *Nyso*, a masculine form of *Nysa*. His story is told by Hyg. *Fab.* 167 and 131, Commodianus *Instruct.* I 12. Jupiter had given the infant Bacchus to Nisus to bring up; and Bacchus when starting on his Indian expedition entrusted Thebes to the care of his foster father. On his return Nisus refused to give up Thebes, whereupon Bacchus retook it by means of soldiers whom he introduced in female attire at the festival of the Trieterica.

Thyone: connected with θύω, θυιάς, was the name of the deified Semele; hence her son is called Θυωνεύς.

Trieterides: a festival held at Thebes every 3rd winter in honour of the Χθόνιος Διόνυσος who then returned from his two years' sojourn in the realms below, cf. Orphic Hymn 52, *Aen.* IV 302 *bacchatur; qualis commotis excita sacris Thyias, ubi audito stimulant Trieterica Baccho orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.*

§ 59. **Caelo et Die**: like the 1st Mercurius. Plato calls her ἀμήτωρ Οὐρανοῦ θυγάτηρ (*Symp.* II 180 D).

cujus Eli delubrum vidimus: the form *Eli* is confirmed by the best MS in *Fam.* XIII 26 § 2 *Eli negotiatus est*, and by the acc. *Elim* Liv. XXVII 32 § 2. This temple is described by Paus. VI 25. It contained a chryselephantine statue of the goddess by Phidias, in which she was represented as resting one foot on a tortoise, a symbol of domesticity, according to Plut. *Praecept. Conj.* 32. Probably Cic. had visited Elis during his two years' stay in Greece; cf. I 79, and below § 46, also *Milo* 80 *quae ego vidi Athenis, quae aliis in urbibus Graeciae!*

spuma procreata: Hes. *Theog.* 196. No independent authority speaks of Mercury as father of Cupid.

Jove et Diona: Homer *Il.* v 312, 370.

Anteros: i.e. 'the response of love', also 'rivalry in love'; whence he is here and by Lydus made the son of Mars. Pausanias (I 30) mentions an altar to him at Athens, and at Elis (VI 23).

Syria Cyproque concepta: this agrees with Lydus τετάρτην τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κύπρου, and Ampelius *Cypri et Syriae filia*, but it is a very strange expression. *Conceptus* is never used with the simple Ablative (like *procreata* above), nor of both parents; and moreover *Syria* and *Cyprus* are both feminine. If it were not for the parallel passages I should be disposed to read *a Syria Cyproque accepta* 'borrowed from Syria and Cyprus', cf. Herod. I 105 'The temple of Uranian Aphrodite at Ascalon is the most ancient of all the temples to this goddess; for the Cyprian temple, as the Cyprians themselves admit, was built in imitation of it; and that in Cythera was erected by the Phoenicians, who belong to this part of Syria'; Hes. *Theog.* 199 Κυπρογενέα δ', ὅτι γέντο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ Κύπρῳ. If the reading is right, it may have originated in a misunderstanding of the epithet Κυπρογένεια, just as Κορυφαγενής may have suggested a Coryphe as mother of Minerva.

Apollinis matrem: see above § 55. Ampelius and Firmicus 16 make Minerva daughter of Vulcan, perhaps from a misunderstanding of Plato *Tim.* 23 on the part of some earlier writer.

orta Nilo: cf. Plato *Tim.* 21 D (of Sais) θεὸς ἀρχηγός τίς ἐστιν, Αἰγυπτιστὶ μὲν τοὔνομα Νηΐθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δέ, ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος, Ἀθηνᾶ, Herod. II 62 with Wilkinson's n., Plut. *Is. Osir.* 32, ib. 9, where she is identified with Isis and the famous inscription is given, ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδείς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν. No independent authority makes her daughter of Nilus. Madv., followed by Mr Reid (*Acad.* I 3 on the words *a Socrate ortam*), maintains that Cic. never uses the simple ablative after *orior*; the latter would therefore insert *a* before *Nilo*, if *Nilus* stands for the god (as undoubtedly it does), and not the river. As we have *natus* and *procreatus*, and (if the text is right) even *conceptus* used with the Abl. in this book, there seems no reason why Cic. should have objected to the same construction with *ortus*; and in point of fact we find it in *Phil.* II 118 *quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera.*

Jove: see above § 53. Arnobius, Firmicus and Clem. Al. make her daughter of Saturn and say that she first used armour.

Coryphe: cf. Harpocration s. v. Ἱππία Ἀθηνᾶ, 'Mnaseas says that the equestrian Athena was daughter of Poseidon and Coryphe, the daughter of Oceanus, and that she was the inventress of chariots'. She was worshipped as Ἱππία at Colonos. Virgil attributes the invention to her son, *primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus jungere equos* (*Geo.* III 113). Clemens (in App.) says the Messenians called her Coryphasia ἀπὸ τῆς μη-

τρός. Ampelius makes her *Solis filia*. Firmicus l.c. follows a different story, *quarta Jovis Cretici regis fuit filia, quae occisum patri detulit Liberum*. Pausanias (IV 36) mentions an Ἀθηνᾶ Κορυφασία worshipped at the promontory Coryphasium near Pylos, and again (VIII 21) an Ἀθηνᾶ Κορία worshipped in Arcadia. We find the latter epithet used of Artemis (Callim. *Dian.* 234), where Spanheim explains it to mean 'patroness of maidens'. Coryphe is no doubt a personification of the head of Zeus, cf. Pindar *Ol.* VII 65 Ἡφαίστου τέχναισιν χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πατέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν ἀνορούσαισ' ἀλάλαξεν, Lydus III 24 τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνάγουσιν ὡς ἀθάνατον καὶ παῖδα τοῦ Διὸς ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ κορυφῆς ἤτοι ἐκ τῆς ἀκρότητος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατιοῦσαν, Arnob. IV 16. See I 41 *Diogenes* n. On **quadrigarum** cf. Gell. XIX 8 § 3 *C. Caesar in libris quos ad M. Ciceronem de analogia conscripsit, 'quadrigas', etiamsi currus unus, equorum junctorum agmen unum sit, plurativo semper numero dicendas putat.*

Pallantis: cf. Firmicus 16 *quinta Pallante patre et Titanide* (al. *Tritonide*) *matre orta est, quae patris appellata nomine Pallas est ab hominibus nuncupata. Haec parricidalis amentia furoris...patrem crudeli morte jugulavit...et exuviis corporis ejus ornata est;* Tzetzes on *Lyc.* 355 (Pallas is so called either because she slew the giant Pallas in the battle between the gods and the giants), ἢ Πάλλαντα τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα, πτερωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ βιάζοντα...ἢ τὴν παρθενίαν τιμῶσα τοῦτον ἀνεῖλε, καὶ τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ ὡς αἰγίδα περιεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πτερὰ τοῖς ποσὶ προσήρμοσεν, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 28; Diodorus (III 69) speaks of the aegis as the skin of a monster slain by Athene in Lybia, cf. Eur. *Ion* 988. For identity of name in parent and child see above on Upis § 58.

pinnarum talaria: 'winged anklets'. Athene is identified with Νίκη (*Ion* 1529), who is usually represented with wings, cf. Aesch. *Eumen.* 952 Παλλάδος ὑπὸ πτεροῖς ὄντας ἅζεται πατήρ with Paley's n., ib. 382 πτερῶν ἄτερ (πτέρωμ' ἄπερ?) ῥοιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος. *Talaria* is used by itself of wings attached to the ankles, or of winged sandals, like those of Hermes, see fig. in Rich *Comp.*; Pallas is not represented with these in any work of art. The word is used metaphorically by Cic. *Att.* XIV 21 *talaria videamus*, 'let us think of flight'.

§ 60. **Cupido**: see § 59. By Alcaeus he is called son of Zephyrus and Iris (Plut. *Amat.* 20), by Simonides son of Ares and Aphrodite (Preller I 394). The son of Hermes and Aphr. is Hermaphroditus (Diod. IV 6).

intellegis resistendum esse: see II 70.

quorsum quicque pertineat: 'what is the reference, the meaning, of each'.

revertamur: i.e. to the follies of the Stoics, of which he began to speak in § 39, and to which he returns in § 43.

B e. (3). *The sorites of Carneades shows that it is impossible to draw the line between what is divine and what is human or natural.* §§ 43—52.

Ch. XVII. § 43. For the transposition see above on § 42 and § 53.

deduxit oratio: see above § 5 *ducet oratio.*

meliora didicisse—capedunculis: 'I have learnt more as to the proper way of worshipping the Gods from Numa's flagons than from the arguments of the Stoics', i.e. 'I have been taught by those rude earthenware vessels, that the Gods are indifferent to wealth in their worshippers'. *Jure pontificio* Abl. of manner qualifying *colendis:* it embraces the whole law of religion, though it is sometimes used in a narrower sense, excluding the *jus augurium*, as in *Cato* 38. *caped.* ἅπ. λεγ. earthen jugs with one handle used in sacrifices; cf. passages cited on § 5, also *Parad.* I 11 *quid? a Numa Pompilio minusne gratas dis immortalibus capudines* (so Mu.) *ac fictiles urnulas fuisse quam felicatas* (engraved with fern-leaves) *Saliorum pateras arbitramur?* Tertull. *Apol.* 25 *etsi a Numa concepta est curiositas superstitiosa, nondum tamen aut simulacris aut templis res divina apud Romanos constabat; frugi religio...et vasa adhuc Samia;* Tib. I 1. 37 *adsitis divi, nec vos e paupere mensa dona nec e puris spernite fictilibus.* The forms *capis*, *capedo*, are also found, cf. Liv. X 7 § 10 *cum capide et lituo, capite velato, victimam caedet.*

[**aureola**: Cic. *Acad.* II 135, Salmas. on Trebell. Gallien. 5 § 6, Petron. 66. J. E. B. M.]

si di sunt isti—deae: as it makes better sense to take *di* as predicate I have inserted *isti*, which would be easily lost between the preceding and following *sunt;* or *hi* might have been lost before *di*, as it is in some MSS below § 49 *si sunt hi di, est certe Erechtheus.* For the use of the fallacy called 'sorites' in what follows, cf. Sext. Emp. IX 182 ἠρώτηνται δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καρνεάδου καὶ σωρειτικῶς τινες (λόγοι), οὓς ὁ γνώριμος αὐτοῦ Κλειτόμαχος ὡς σπουδαιοτάτους καὶ ἀνυτικωτάτους ἀνέγραψεν ἔχοντας τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· εἰ Ζεὺς θεός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν θεός ἐστι κ.τ.λ., Clem. Al. *Protr.* § 162, Lactant. I 16. It was a favourite weapon of Carneades against the Stoics, cf. *Acad.* II 92, 93 (where it is called *lubricum sane et periculosum locum*). *Placet enim Chrysippo, cum gradatim interrogatur, verbi causa, tria pauca sint anne multa, aliquanto prius, quam ad multa perveniat, quiescere, id est, quod ab his dicitur ἡσυχάζειν. Per me vel stertas licet, inquit Carneades, non modo quiescas.* Hence Persius gives it the name of Chrysippus (VI 80), *inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi.*

Panisci: a diminutive like Σατυρίσκος, cf. *Div.* I 23 *fingebat Carneades in Chiorum lapidicinis saxo diffisso caput exstitisse Panisci;* ib. II 48, Sueton. *Tib.* 43, Clem. Al. *Protr.* § 61 [Wilmanns' *Inscr.* 149 4. J. E. B. M.]. We find Pan used in the plural as early as Plato *Leg.* VII 815, Aristoph. *Eccles.* 1069. The Stoics were inclined to identify Pan with the Mundane Spirit, see Cornut. c. 27.

si Nymphae—sunt dedicata: most edd. put marks of interrogation after *Satyri*, *igitur* and the 2nd *dedicata.* I think the argument proceeds more naturally without them. 'If the Nymphs are deities, then so also are the Satyrs; but these are not deities; therefore neither are the

Nymphs. But the latter are recognised as divine by the state. That shows that state-recognition is no proof of divinity.' Allen and Sch. (*Opusc.* III 380) led the way in the omission of *deae* after *Nymphae.* It is a natural gloss and its removal greatly improves the sentence.

Nymphae: the Nymphs are summoned to the general council of the gods in Homer *Il.* XX 7, and were honoured with sacrifices and shrines (see *Dict. of Biog.*). Cicero often refers to the burning of the temple of the Nymphs at Rome by Clodius, as in *Mil.* 73 *eum qui aedem Nympharum incendit, ut memoriam publicam recensionis tabulis publicis impressam exstingueret; Harusp. Resp.* 57 *idemque earum templum inflammavit dearum, quarum ope etiam aliis incendiis subvenitur; Parad.* IV 31.

igitur: for position cf. below *ne Orcus quidem igitur, Tusc.* I 88 *ne carere quidem igitur, Fin.* IV 67 *ne vitia quidem igitur.*

publice: as contrasted with family rites or some private superstition.

age porro: cf. n. on I 83.

deum: the Sing. is scarcely justified by such exx. as *N. D.* I 4 *fides et societas et justitia tollatur; Acad.* II 113 *et Peripatetici et vetus Academia concedit; Leg. Man.* 35 *duabus Hispaniis et Gallia Transalpina praesidiis confirmata, Orat.* II 53 *qualis apud Graecos Pherecydes, Hellenicus, Acusilas fuit; Fam.* VIII 8 § 6 *huic s. c. intercessit C. Clodius, C. Pansa, tribuni plebis; Div.* I 84 *hac ratione et Chrysippus et Diogenes et Antipater utitur,* and other references in Zumpt § 373 and Draeg. § 102. Perhaps the original order was *Jovem deum,* as we have below § 49 *Amphiaraus erit deus et Trophonius,* § 51 *solem deum esse Lunamque.*

numeras: so above § 40 *stellas numeras deos.*

Orcus: an older name than Pluto, used by Ennius, Plautus &c.; so Cic. *Verr.* IV 111 *Orcus sive Dis pater rapuit Liberam.* Being also used as a local name, it was easy to compare it with the rivers of hell. Even the latter were sometimes deified, as may be seen in Porphyr. citing Apollodorus (ap. Stob. *Ecl.* p. 1010), where we read of the wives of Acheron, and that the Styx is δεινήν τινα καὶ φοβερὰν δαίμονα, cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 383 foll. Lydus (*Mens.* III § 4) says that the poets styled Hecate Κέρβερον οἱονεὶ κρεωβόρον. The form *Pyriphlegethon* is not found elsewhere in classical Latin; but it is the regular Greek form, used by Homer *Od.* X 513, Plato &c.; cf. such compounds as πυριφλεγής.

illi, qui fluere apud inferos dicuntur: 'the rivers of hell they tell of'.

§ 44. **quid minus conveniens**: cf. I 3 and 4 *ita disseruit ut excitaret homines.*

ad occidentem: probably this refers to the Islands of the Blest at the ends of the earth near deep-rolling Oceanus, where the ancient heroes dwelt under the rule of Cronos, Hes. *Theog.* 167 foll., Pind. *Olymp.* II 68. Plutarch places these isles in the setting sun at five days' sail from Britain, and says that Cronos lies there bound in perpetual slumber (*Fac. Lun.* p. 941, *Def. Or.* p. 420). Diodorus cites in proof of the statement that he

ruled μάλιστα τῶν πρὸς ἕσπερον τόπων, the fact of his worship in Carthage and Italy (*Saturnia tellus*); so Crates (Lydus IV 48) τὸν Κρόνον Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας καὶ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους τῆς Λιβύης βασιλεῦσαι, but was driven by Zeus εἰς ἔσχατον τῆς δύσεως. Sch. thinks the reference is to some Celtic or Iberian deity identified with Saturn; cf. Milton *P. L.* I 519 'who with Saturn old fled over Adria to th' Hesperian fields, and o'er the Celtic roamed the utmost isles'.

Caeli parentes: so Hyg. I 1 *ex Aethere et Die Terra Caelum Mare*, and the author of the Titanomachia ('probably Eumelus or Arctinus' Preller p. 33 n.). Hesiod (*Theog.* 116 foll.) makes Chaos the first of existing things and then Earth: from Earth is produced Heaven; from Chaos, Erebus and Night; and these last are the parents of Aether and Day. Night is sole parent of Μόρος (*Fatum*), Φιλότης (*Amor*), Ἀπάτη (*Dolus*), Γῆρας (*Senectus*), Θάνατος (*Mors*), Ὀϊζύς (*Miseria*), Μοῖραι (*Parcae*), Ἑσπερίδες, Ὄνειροι, Ἶρις and others. A fuller list is given in Hyg. l. c. On these and similar genealogies Keightley remarks (*Myth.* p. 50), 'It is a principle of all cosmogony that darkness precedes light, which sprang out of it. Night is naturally regarded as parent of dreams, sleep, death, and the kindred ideas, also of φιλότης, the union of love: deceit, age, strife and woe are figuratively her offspring: she was connected with the Hesperides because their home was with her in the west' (abbreviated).

a genealogis: only found here in classical Latin. Dionysius Hal. I 13 calls Pherecydes τῶν Ἀθηναίων γενεαλόγων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον.

Morbus, Metus: so I read for the *modus* or *motus* of MSS. (the eye of the scribe passing from *mo* to *me*). The two are combined in the parallel passage of Virg. *Aen.* VI 273 *vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae, pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus, et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas, terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque* foll. Also Sen. *H. F.* 693, Claud. *Ruf.* I 32.

Invidentia: cf. *Tusc.* III 20 *non dixi invidiam, quae tum est cum invidetur: ab invidendo autem invidentia recte dici potest, ut effugiamus ambiguum nomen invidiae*; ib. IV 16 *utendum est docendi causa verbo minus usitato, quoniam invidia non in eo qui invidet solum dicitur, sed etiam in eo cui invidetur*; Apul. *Plat. Dog.* II 16.

Gratia: probably this must be taken in the sense of 'unfair influence', as it goes with *fraus*; cf. *Quint.* 84 *improbitatem et gratiam cum inopia et veritate contendere*; *Sext. Rosc.* 122 *nimiam gratiam Chrysogoni dicimus nobis obstare*; *Mur.* 62 *cave quicquam habeat momenti gratia.*

monstra: see n. on *portenta* I 18.

Ch. XVIII § 45. **ceteros**: without conjunction to close a series, as I 92 *cor, pulmones, jecur, cetera*; III 52 *Tiberinum, Spinonem, Almonem, alia fluminum nomina*; § 74 *tot judicia de fide mala, tutelae, mandati, pro socio, fiduciae, reliqua.*

de Hercule—dubitabis: as Balbus had distinctly recognised all

these as divinities, it is rather absurd to make Cotta argue on the assumption of the impossibility of such a belief; but this is only a proof that the present book is no answer to the preceding, but is merely copied from Carneades, who lived long before Posidonius, the authority followed in the earlier book.

multo magis: thus Castor and Pollux were known in many places as *θεοὶ μεγάλοι*, and identified with the Cabeiri of Samothrace. See below on *Alabandus* § 50.

Aristaeus: cf. *Verr.* IV 128 *Aristaeus, qui inventor olei esse dicitur, una cum Libero patre eodem erat in templo consecratus.* He is invoked among other deities at the beginning of the *Georgics* (I 14) and again introduced as the instructor of mankind in bee-keeping (ib. IV 283, 315 foll.); but Minerva is *oleae inventrix* (*Geo.* I 18).

Theseus: 'according to the common story he is son of Aegeus, king of Athens, and Aethra, but another legend made him son of Poseidon (Plut. *Thes.* 6, Apollod. III 15 § 7, Hyg. 37). In reality Aegeus is only an appellative of Poseidon, and Aethra is a goddess of the air connected with Athena', Sch.; cf. below § 76. There were temples and a festival in his honour at Athens. The difficulty of drawing any distinct line between the human and the divine is brought out in Lucian's *Concilium Deorum*, where we have the decree of Zeus requiring each deity to prove his claim. See also Grote's *Greece* I p. 596 foll. 'the mythical age was peopled with a mingled aggregate of Gods, heroes and men, so confounded together that it was often impossible to distinguish to which class any individual name belonged'.

matres: *erant deae* supplied from *patres di.*

jure civili: distinguished, as the law of a particular state, from the *jus naturae* which, as common to all mankind, is frequently called *jus gentium*, cf. *Off.* III 69 *itaque majores aliud jus gentium, aliud jus civile esse voluerunt. Quod civile, non idem continuo gentium; quod autem gentium, idem civile esse debet.*

matre libera liber est: cf. Gaius I 82 [who gives this as a rule of the *jus gentium*, adopted in the *jus civile* of Rome, but modified in one or two cases by special enactment. See also Ulp. *Reg.* V 8—10; Paul. *Sent.* II 21 A, R.] *ex ancilla et libero jure gentium servus nascitur et ex libera et servo liber nascitur;* Just. *Instit.* I tit. 4 *si quis ex matre libera nascatur, patre servo, ingenuus nihilo minus nascitur;* Dion. Hal. XI 29 *ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν ἁπάντων καταφεύγω νόμον, ὃς οὐ τῶν ὑποβαλλομένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μητέρων εἶναι τὰ ἔκγονα δικαιοῖ, ἐλευθέρων μὲν οὐσῶν ἐλεύθερα, δούλων δὲ δοῦλα* [also the legal maxim, *partus ventrem sequitur.* J. E. B. M.].

Achillem: this is the only place in which we are told that Ach. was worshipped in the island Astypalaea, one of the Cyclades not far from Cos. The Aeacids were however worshipped in Cos, the old capital of which was also Astypalaea; so it is possible that the island may have been mistaken for the city. In the *Dict. of Geog.* s. v. Astyp. it is sug-

gested that Cic. (rather his authority) may have confounded Achilles with the athlete Cleomedes, the patron hero of the island († 492 B.C.), of whom the Delphic oracle uttered the words ὕστατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπαλαιεύς, ὃν θυσίαις τιμᾶθ' ὡς μηκέτι θνητὸν ἐόντα. On other sacrifices to Achilles cf. *Dict. of Biog.*, Preller II 440, Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 1, Philostr. *Heroic.* 741 foll.

insulani: a rare word=Greek νησιώτης, used here to distinguish the inhabitants of the island from those of the town of the same name.

Orpheus: son of Oeagrus and Calliope. It is natural to suppose that he may have received divine honours from his followers, but, so far as I am aware, this is nowhere stated.

Rhesus: Eurip. *Rhes.* 393 addresses him as παῖ τῆς μελῳδοῦ μητέρος Μουσῶν μιᾶς Θρῃκός τε ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, and therefore cousin of Orpheus (l. 944). It is prophesied (l. 971) that he would continue to live in a secret cavern, ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος. Later writers call his mother Calliope or Euterpe. In Philostr. *Heroic.* 681 we read that wild animals came of their own accord to offer themselves at his altar in Rhodope.

nisi forte: ironical, as in I 99, 117, II 158.

maritimae: 'unless the son of the sea-goddess Thetis is to claim higher rank than the son of the Muse'.

quo modo=*nullo modo.*

§ 46. **immortalitatibus**: pl. because it refers to many different cases, cf. above II 98, Zumpt § 92.

tu quoque, Balbe: but in II 62 Balbus assigns the two grounds, *cum et optimi essent et aeterni.*

Hecate: see above § 42 and Hes. *Theog.* 404—462 (Phoebe and Coeus were the parents of Leto and Asteria; Asteria bore to Perses Hecate τὴν περὶ πάντων Ζεὺς Κρονίδης τίμησε). In later times she was identified with Demeter, Artemis and Persephone: she was especially invoked in magic rites, e.g. *Aen.* IV 511, Hor. *Sat.* I 8. 33.

vidimus: see § 59 about the shrine of Venus at Elis, and below § 49 of the Erechtheum. Hecate had a famous temple at Aegina (Paus. II 30 § 2) to which C. may here refer.

Athenis fanum est: one temple near the Areopagus is referred to by Aeschylus (*Eum.* 817), another is the scene of the *Oedipus Coloneus.*

quae si deae sunt quarum—lucus Furinae, Furiae deae sunt: I understand this as follows, 'if the Eumenides are divine, who are honoured by a temple at Athens and, supposing I am right in my interpretation, by the grove of Furina at Rome, that is the same thing as saying that the Furies are goddesses, I presume, in their capacity of detectors and punishers of crime'. *Credo* is perhaps ironical, as Cic. often speaks of *Furiae* as fiends inciting to crime, cf. *Sest.* 33 *illa furia* of Clodius. Ba. following Madv. omits *quae si deae sunt* and *Furiae;* but there is nothing to explain the addition of *quae si;* and the position of *deae sunt*, so far removed from its subject *Eumenides*, seems to me awkward. **Furinae**: very little is

known of her; Preller connects the name with *furvus*, making her a 'goddess of gloom', Hartung with *fornax*, a 'goddess of fire'. Even in Varro's time her name was all but forgotten, see *L. L.* VI 19 *Furrinalia Furrinae, quod ei deae feriae publicae dies is; quoius deae honos apud antiquos: nam ei sacra instituta annua et flamen attributus, nunc vix nomen notum paucis;* ib. V 84, VII 45, Paul. exc. Fest. p. 88. Cic. speaks of a temple of Furina in the neighbourhood of Arpinum (*Q. Fr.* III 1); and an *ara Forinarum* is mentioned in an Inscription cited by Preller *R. M.* p. 458. It was in the Grove of Furina on the Janiculum (called by Plut. *Gracch.* 17 ἄλσος Ἐρινύων) that C. Gracchus was slain.

vindices sceleris: cf. *Leg.* I 40 *poenas luunt non tam judiciis...sed agitant insectanturque furiae non ardentibus taedis, sicut in fabulis, sed angore conscientiae; Sext. Rosc.* 66 *videtisne quos nobis poetae tradiderunt patris ulciscendi causa supplicium de matre sumpsisse...ut eos agitent furiae* foll.; *Piso* 46, *Clodius* 6, Lucr. III 1011 foll.

§ 47. **ut rebus humanis intersint**: see n. on I 54 *curiosum deum*, and cf. Aug. *C. D.* VI 8 § 5 *Varro enumerare deos coepit a conceptione hominis; quorum numerum exortus est a Jano eamque seriem perduxit usque ad decrepiti hominis mortem, et deos ad ipsum hominem pertinentes clausit ad Naeniam deam...Deinde coepit deos alios ostendere, qui pertinerent non ad ipsum hominem, sed ad ea quae sunt hominis;* also Preller *R. M.* p. 572 foll. on the gods of the *Indigitamenta*.

Natio: the goddess of birth, only mentioned here, may be compared with *Alemona*, the goddess *alendi in utero partus; Partula, quae partum gubernet* (Tertull. *Anim.* 39); with *Levana*, who takes up the infant from the ground; *Cunina* who guards it in the cradle, and others mentioned by Aug. *C. D.* IV 11. The form *nascio*, read by some, seems contrary to analogy; *sc* being no part of the root, it should not be compared with *dicio, capio, regio*, but rather with *oblivio* from *obliviscor*.

cui cum fana—solemus: Sch. notes that Strabo (V 3 § 5) speaks of a special worship of Aphrodite at Ardea, ὅπου πανηγυρίζουσι Λατῖνοι, which he thinks may be connected with this. Ardea had been a city of importance in early times, and was distinguished for its ancient temples, but had sunk into insignificance, like Gabii, long before the time of Cicero.

circumimus: 'we make the round of the shrines', perhaps on occasion of a public *supplicatio ad omnia pulvinaria*.

tueatur: Subj. because it is not a fact vouched for by the speaker, but only alleged by those who would make her a deity.

a te: cf. II 61. The way in which *spes* is mentioned here does not favour Lamb.'s proposal to read *Spes* for *Fides* there.

Moneta: as it occurs in a list of abstract nouns, we should probably take this in its old sense, = Μνημοσύνη, as in Liv. Andr. *filia Monetas* of the Muse. More commonly it is found (1) as an epithet for Juno, who is said to have been so called because of the warning voice which issued from her

shrine (*Div.* I 101); and (2) since money was coined in her temple, it is used for the mint or even for money itself.

unde fluxerunt: 'the preceding', 'those with which they are logically connected'; so below *unde haec nata sunt;* § 48 *ex eodem fonte fluxerunt* 'they are all of one mint'; § 49 *unde haec manant;* cf. Sext. IX 184 *εἰ ὁ ἥλιος θεός ἐστι, καὶ ἡμέρα ἂν εἴη θεός...εἰ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ θεός, καὶ ὁ μήν ἐστι θεός· σύστημα γάρ ἐστιν ἐξ ἡμερῶν. εἰ δὲ ὁ μὴν θεός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἂν εἴη θεός...οὐχὶ δὲ τοῦτο· τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς* foll.

Ch. XIX. **quid autem dicis—cur non**: 'what reason can you allege for refusing to admit?' cf. *quid est cur* above § 7.

Serapim = *Osiris-Apis,* so Plut. *Isis* 29; others, as Varro ap. Aug. *C. D.* XVIII 5, Clem. *Strom.* I 21, Suidas s. v., derived it from σορός and Ἆπις. The name denotes the slain Osiris who reigned in the under world and reappeared from time to time in the form of Apis in the upper world. His worship, which was mixed with Phoenician and Greek elements, took the place of the old worship of Osiris about 150 B.C., see Tac. *Hist.* IV 83, 84 with Orelli's exc. For the growth of this worship in Rome see Tertull. *Ad. Nat.* I 10 *Serapim et Isidem et Harpocratum et Anubim prohibitos Capitolio Varro commemorat, eorumque statuas, a senatu dejectas, non nisi per vim popularium restructas. Sed tamen et Gabinius consul Kalendis Januariis, cum vix hostias probaret, prae popularium coetu, quia nihil de Serapide et Iside constituisset, potiorem habuit senatus censuram quam impetum vulgi, et aras institui prohibuit* (58 B.C.); Val. Max. (*Epit.*) I 3 *L. Aemilius Paulus consul, cum senatus Isidis et Serapis fana diruenda censuisset, eaque nemo opificum attingere auderet, posita praetexta securim arripuit templique ejus foribus afflixit* (50 B.C.). Eight years later the triumvirs courted popular favour by building a joint temple to the two deities. Cicero mentions a temple of Serapis at Syracuse (2 *Verr.* II 160); see further Tertull. *Apol.* 6, Plut. *Isis* 28 with Parthey's n., Preller *R. M.* 723 foll. Milman (*Hist. of Christianity* III 150) describes the destruction of his temple at Alexandria 390 A.D., 'the proudest monument of Pagan religious architecture, next to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol': there, he says, the Egyptian and the Greek met together in common worship; 'while the Egyptians worshipped in Serapis the great vivific principle of the universe, the fecundating Nile...the president of the regions beyond the grave; the Greeks at the same time recognised the blended attributes of their Dionysus, Helios, Aesculapius and Hades'.

Isim: even as early as the 2nd Punic war Ennius speaks of *Isiaci conjectores.* On the later development of her worship at Rome see *Dict. of Biog.* (where however Gabinius is wrongly stated to have *resisted* the decree of the senate mentioned in the last note), Mayor on Juv. XIII 93, Boissier *Rel. Rom.* bk II, c. 2.

barbarorum deos: cf. I 81, 82, 101, where see nn. on *crocodilos, ibes, faeles, Tusc.* V 78, Herod. II 65, Strabo XVII 1 § 40, Diod. I 87. [Servius

on *Aen.* III 168 cites Labeo *de dis animalibus*, see Ouzel on Minuc. p. 262 seq. J. E. B. M.]

boves: beside the sacred bulls Apis, Mnevis, &c., the cow was sacred to Isis.

equos: the horse was not sacred in Egypt, but perhaps the reference in the original was to the hippopotamus (*equus fluviatilis*), which was the emblem of Typhon, see Herod. II 71. I see no objection to the *et* which couples the domestic animals, and so contrasts them with the following wild animals.

accipitres: sacred to Ra, the god of the Sun.

aspidas: sacred to Neph (Plut. *Isis* 74).

pisces: Wilkinson mentions five different kinds of fishes which were sacred to different gods, cf. Plut. l. c. 72, Mayor on Juv. XV 7, Obbar on Hor. *Ep.* I 2, 2—24.

canes: sacred to Anubis, cf. Juv. XV 8 n. Hence Socrates used to swear νὴ τὸν κύνα τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν, see Plut. *Isis* 44.

lupos: an object of worship in Lycopolis, Plut. *Isis* 72.

multas praeterea beluas: e.g. the lion, the ass, the ram, the ape, the ichneumon, the shrew-mouse, the scarabeus.

in numerum reponemus: for constr. see II 54.

quae si rejicimus—rejiciemus: so I venture to read instead of *si rejiciamus* of MSS. The Indic. is the mood employed throughout the whole passage, thus we have above *si facimus...cur repudiemus;* and indeed the Subjunctive, which implies that the supposed case is contrary to fact (Roby II pp. xcix, c), would be quite out of place here: Cotta assumes that we do reject these bestial gods, and argues from this fact to the rejection of all foreign gods, including those which have been to a certain extent naturalized, such as Isis. It makes nonsense to say 'if we were to reject them, we shall reject the others'.

§ 48. **Ino**: see above § 39.

Pasiphae: she is really a lunar goddess (as the name denotes), and was worshipped under the form of a white cow. Oracles were given in dreams at her temple in Sparta (*Div.* I 96). It is true the genealogy of the Spartan goddess differs from that of the Cretan, see above § 54.

et Aeeta e Perseide, Oceani filia, nati: so Sch. *Opusc.* III 347 foll. corrects the MS reading *et eae e Perside Oceani filiae natae.* When the name *Aeeta* had got corrupted, the gender of *nati* would naturally be altered. (Madv. however, on *Fin.* II 94, denies that the form *Aeeta* is used by Cic. in the Nom.) Aeetes is again referred to just below and in § 54; otherwise I should have preferred to read *Aeaea*, as nearer to the MS, understanding by it Calypso, who is called *Aeaea puella* by Prop. IV 11. 31, and was also a sister of Circe according to Tzetzes on Lycophr. 174, 798, ἀδελφαὶ δὲ Αἰήτου καὶ Ἀλωέως, ἤτοι Ἡλίου θυγατέρες Κίρκη καὶ Πασιφάη, καθ' ἑτέρους δὲ καὶ Καλυψώ.

Circen quoque Circeienses colunt: cf. Hom. *Od.* X 135 Αἰαίην δ' ἐς

νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ᾽· ἔνθα δ᾽ ἔναιεν Κίρκη ἐϋπλόκαμος δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα, αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο· ἄμφω δ᾽ ἐκγεγάτην φαεσιμβρότου Ἠελίοιο μητρός τ᾽ ἐκ Πέρσης, τὴν Ὠκεανὸς τέκε παῖδα. Livy (I 49 § 9) speaks of Octavius Mamilius as *ab Ulixe deaque Circe oriundus*, and the Italian connexion of Circe was known to Hesiod, *Theog.* 1013, 'she bore to Odysseus *Ἄγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον...Τηλέγονόν τε ἔτικτε...οἳ δ᾽ ἤτοι μάλα τῆλε μυχῷ νήσων ἱεράων πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἄνασσον*'. Strabo (V 3 § 6) mentions a temple of Circe at Circeii in which it was reported that the cup of Ulysses was shown as a relic. Theophrastus (*H. Pl.* V 8) says that in his time the Homeric island had become a promontory, and that the people of Circeii still pointed out the grave of Elpenor; cf. also Apollon. III 312, Virg. *Aen.* VII 10 foll. According to Westphal *Rom. Camp.* p. 60 (cited by Sch.) the name Circe still survives in the popular tradition.

quoque: i.e. as well as Matuta.

Medeae: according to Athenagoras 12, she was spoken of as a goddess by Hesiod and Alcman. Silius Ital. VIII 498 and Serv. ad *Aen.* VII 750 identify her with the goddess Anguitia worshipped by the Marsi: Macrobius *Sat.* I 12 § 26 says that others thought her to be the *Bona Dea.* She is originally a lunar deity, see Preller *Gr. M.* II 318.

duobus avis: as this is not exceptional, Allen suggests that *dis* may have been lost before *duobus*. Or is it an abbreviated way of saying 'two such grandfathers as Sol and Oceanus'?

Idyia: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 958 *Αἰήτης δ᾽ υἱὸς φαεσιμβρότου Ἠελίοιο κούρην Ὠκεανοῖο τελήεντος ποταμοῖο γῆμε θεῶν βουλῇσιν Ἰδυῖαν καλλιπάρῃον*, 'who bore him Medea'. The whole family were supposed to possess magical powers.

Absyrto: said by Eur. *Med.* 1334 to have been put to death by Medea before her flight, but the more common tradition was that he was cut to pieces on the flight in order to detain the pursuers, and that Tomi received its name because the severed limbs were there collected and buried. He is called Aegialeus by Diod. IV 45 and Justin XLII 3, as well as in the play of Pac. here referred to, probably the *Medus* (so named from the son of Medea). Preller *Gr. M.* p. 335 suggests that Abs. was originally a personification of the morning star.

vereor quid agat: 'I have my fears as to what will become of Ino' ('what she is to do'), cf. *Att.* IX 17 § 2 *Tiro ita scripsit, ut verear quid agat.*

§ 49. **an Amphiaraus**: 'or (if we hold to the divinity of Ino) do we mean to make Amph. a god?' cf. II 7 n.

Trophonius: cf. § 56. He is called Juppiter Trophonius by Liv. XLV 27, Strabo IX p. 414. His oracle at Lebadeia in Boeotia was the most famous of all the shrines of heroes; it was consulted by Croesus (Herod. I 46), and Mardonius (ib. VIII 134), and was one of the few at which responses were still given in the time of Plutarch (*Def. Orac.* 5) and Celsus (Orig. *c. Cels.* VII p. 355); cf. *Div.* I 74 *cum apud Lebadiam Trophonio res*

divina fieret, and *Dict. of Ant.* s. v. *Oraculum*. Dicaearchus wrote a book *περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως*, mentioned by Cic. *Att.* VI 2 § 3. In *Tusc.* I 114 the story is told of Trophonius and his brother Agamedes building the temple of Apollo at Delphi and receiving at his hands death as the best reward.

lege censoria: it was a part of the duty of the censors to let out the various branches of the revenue to the *publicani* for five years on certain conditions (*leges censoriae*), which were published before the biddings commenced, cf. *Verr.* V 53, III 12, *Quint. Fr.* I 1 § 12. The tribute imposed on foreign countries often took the form of a land tax; on the other hand the expenses of the temple services were partly defrayed from the sacred lands, cf. Harpocr. s. v. *ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων* p. 24, Xen. *Anab.* V 3 § 13 (describing a temple he had built near his house at Scillus) *στήλη ἕστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα, ἱερὸς ὁ χῶρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος· τὸν δὲ ἔχοντα καὶ καρπούμενον τὴν μὲν δεκάτην καταθύειν ἑκάστου ἔτους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιττοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευάζειν· ἐὰν δέ τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα, τῇ θεῷ μελήσει.* Mr Swainson notes that lands belonging to temples in India are exempt from taxation. The *publicani*, who had purchased the revenues of the province, were naturally disposed to abridge any exceptions made from the tax-paying area.

negabant immortales: cf. I 38 n.

Erechtheus: see below § 50. Being hard pressed by Eumolpus and the Eleusinians, he consulted the oracle and was assured of victory if one of his daughters volunteered to die. The youngest at once offered herself, and her two sisters would not survive her. Eumolpus being defeated and slain, his father Poseidon persuaded Zeus to destroy Erechtheus with a thunderbolt, or, according to another account, himself slew him with his trident. In consequence of this Er. and his daughters were honoured as divinities. Cic. is fond of quoting him as an example of patriotism, cf. *Tusc.* I 116 *clarae mortes pro patria oppetitae non solum gloriosae rhetoribus sed etiam beatae videri solent. Repetunt ab Erechtheo, cujus etiam filiae cupide mortem expetiverunt pro vita civium; Codrum commemorant, qui se in medios immisit hostes veste famulari, ne posset agnosci, si esset ornatu regio, quod oraculum erat datum, si rex interfectus esset, victrices Athenas fore*, foll.; *Sest.* 48, *Fin.* V 62. Euripides composed a tragedy on the subject, from which Lycurgus *c. Leocr.* p. 160 gives a long quotation. Erechtheus is often confounded with Erichthonius, son of Hephaestus.

vidimus: for other allusions of Cic. to his stay in Greece, cf. above § 46 of Hecate, § 59 Venus at Elis. Part of the Erechtheum is still standing, see *Dict. of Geog.* I p. 275.

de Codro: Erechtheus, like Jephthah, devoted his daughter; Codrus devoted himself, cf. Lycurg. l. c. p. 158. Augustine says that he received divine honours, *C. D.* XVIII 19.

pugnantes ceciderunt: cf. *Mil.* 80 *Graeci homines deorum honores tribuunt iis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt;* Demosth. *F. Leg.* 280 Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος...οὓς νόμῳ διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας...ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις σπονδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κοινωνοὺς πεποίησθε καὶ ᾄδετε καὶ τιμᾶτε ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, Thuc. v 11 with Arnold's n., on the worship paid to Brasidas.

§ 50. **augendae virtutis gratia**: cf. above § 15 on στρατήγημα. Lactantius (I 15) reads *acuendae v. g.*

Leo natarum: so I read with Lamb. for the *Leonaticum* of MSS, which may perhaps have crept in here from below, see next note. The form *Leontidum*, read by Sch., is never found for the daughters of Leos. He was one of the eponymous heroes of Athens, who was believed to have sacrificed his daughter in order to avert a plague, cf. Aelian *V. H.* XII 28, pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* p. 1398 ἠκηκόεσαν Λεοντίδαι (the members of the tribe Leontis) μυθολογουμένας τὰς Λεωκόρας, ὡς αὐτὰς ἔδοσαν σφάγιον τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας. In Diod. XVII 15 Phocion calls on Demosthenes to imitate τὰς Λεὼ κόρας (so Wesseling) and deliver himself up for the common good.

Λεωκόριον, id est Leonaticum: I have added the last three words, thinking that this is the easiest explanation of the reading *Leonaticum* above. The Leocorion is mentioned by Thuc. I 20, VI 57, Demosth. *Conon* p. 1258, cf. *Dict. of Geog.* I p. 299.

Alabandum: see § 39 n. [The story which follows is told in Babrius, *fab.* 15, of a Theban and Athenian disputing about the merits of Theseus and Hercules. J. E. B. M.]

Stratonicus: a famous Athenian musician of the time of Alexander. Among other witticisms of his recorded by Athen. VIII 348—352, we are told that being once asked 'how many pupils he had', he replied σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δώδεκα, i.e. two in addition to the statues of Apollo and the Muses which adorned the lecture-room (the natural meaning of the phrase being of course 'By the blessing of heaven, twelve').

Ch. XX § 51. **quae tu a caelo astrisque ducebas**: 'your explanation of the popular religion from astronomy', lit. 'those things which you derived from the heaven'; see II 68, also 54 and 59. For the concrete expression cf. III 18 *quaeque in domo pulchra comparabas.*

quam longe serpant: cf. I 98. For the argument see Sext. IX 184 quoted on *unde fluxerunt* above § 46.

Solem deum esse: clause in apposition explaining *illa.*

quodsi—ergo: the apodosis is introduced by *ergo* here, as by *igitur* above § 30.

numerum obtinebunt: cf. *Brut.* 175 *aliquem numerum obtinebat* 'held a certain position'; *Div. in Caec.* 62 *parentis numero esse* 'to be reckoned as a father'; *Phil.* III 16 *homo nullo numero;* so often *locum obtinere.*

Arqui species: Lucretius has the same form VI 526; cf. *arquati* ib. IV 333, *arquitenens* Naev. l. 58, Att. l. 52, 167 Ribb. According to Nonius

p. 425 this form is only used of the rainbow. Sch. compares the archaic genitives *senati*, *tumulti*, *sumpti* &c. *Species* seems to be used, as in II 96, 100, 'the beauty of the rainbow' for 'the beautiful rainbow'.

in numero reponatur: cf. II 54.

speciem habeat: most edd. follow Ern. in reading *habet*, which of course would be quite right here, as the speaker has already expressed his agreement with the sentiment here uttered; but there seems no reason why he may not repeat it simply as the reason assigned by the mythologists for their genealogy. I have therefore kept to the MS reading with Mu. To understand the argument we must remember that *admirabilem* =Gr. *θαυμαστήν*. [Virgil calls her *Thaumantias*, *Aen.* IX 5. Swainson.]

Thaumante dicitur Iris esse nata: the insertion of *Iris* is necessary to explain the gender of *nata*. It would be easily lost between *dicitur* and *esse*. Hesiod (*Theog.* 265) makes Thaumas and Electra, daughter of Oceanus, the parents not only of Iris but of other marvels of nature, whirlwinds, Harpyes &c.; cf. Plato's interpretation of the myth (*Theaet.* 155) *μάλα γὰρ φιλοσόφου τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, τὸ θαυμάζειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας ἢ αὕτη, καὶ ἔοικεν ὁ τὴν Ἶριν Θαύμαντος ἔκγονον φήσας οὐ κακῶς γενεαλογεῖν*, i.e. the message from heaven only comes to those who are quick to wonder and admire, cf. the quotation from Aristotle in II 95.

quid facies nubibus: 'what are you to make of the clouds?' cf. Draeg. § 243. The Dat. is used after *facio* with much the same force, see below § 62.

arcus e nubibus efficitur: cf. Seneca *N. Q.* I 3 § 11 *illud dubium esse nulli potest quin arcus imago solis sit roscida et cava nube concepta*, who quotes a certain Artemidorus as saying *color illi igneus a sole est, caeruleus a nube, ceteri utriusque mixturae* (ib. 4 § 4); again *in eadem sententia sum qua Posidonius, ut arcum judicem fieri nube formata in modum concavi speculi et rotundi, cui forma sit partis e pila secta;* but this view of the rainbow, as caused by reflexion, was opposed by others who thought the cloud itself was coloured by the sun, *videmus nubes aliquando ignei coloris: quid ergo prohibet, quo modo hunc unum colorem accipiunt solis occursu, sic multos ab illis trahi, quamvis non habeant speculi potentiam?* cf. Ammianus XX 11 § 26 foll. and Ideler's n. on Arist. *Meteor.* III 4 § 1. The correct explanation is given in *Plac. Phil.* III 5.

Centauros peperisse: according to the fable of Ixion. The Centaurs were hence called *Nubigenae*. The fable is referred to as showing that the clouds were regarded as persons, and had therefore as good a claim to be deified as any of the preceding; cf. Aristoph. *Nubes* 263 foll., Juv. XIV 91 *nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant* with Mayor's n. In I 105, II 5 we have the fuller form Hippocentaurus: the shorter form occurs again below § 70.

tempestates: cf. *Aen.* V 772 *tempestatibus agnam caedere deinde jubet*, Arist. *Ranae* 847 *ἄρν' ἄρνα μέλανα παῖδες ἐξενέγκατε, τυφὼς γὰρ ἐκβαίνειν*

παρασκευάζεται, Ov. *Fast.* VI 193 *te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur, cum paene est Corsis obruta classis aquis*, i.e. in B.C. 259 by L. Corn. Scipio in consequence of his conquest of Corsica. The memory of it is preserved by the inscription on his tomb, Wilmanns *Inscr.* 538.

immolare: so Scip. Africanus on embarking for Africa, after the offering of prayers (Liv. XXIX 27), *cruda exta victimae, uti mos est, in mare porricit, tubaque signum dedit proficiscendi; Aen.* V 382 (the vow of Aeneas) *extaque salsos porriciam in fluctus;* cf. Herod. VII 189 of sacrifices offered to Boreas, and Thuc. VI 32 with nn.

§ 52. **gerendo**: 'if you rightly derive her name from the bearing of fruit, she is the earth', cf. II 67 n. In the original it would be, as in Sext. Emp. IX 189 εἰ ἡ Δημήτηρ θεός ἐστι, καὶ ἡ γῆ θεός ἐστιν· ἡ γὰρ Δημήτηρ, φασίν, οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν ἢ γῆ μήτηρ. Sextus continues εἰ ἡ γῆ θεός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ αἱ ἀκρωτηρίαι καὶ πᾶς λίθος ἔσται θεός.

Tellus: a temple was dedicated to her at Rome by P. Sempronius 268 B.C., in performance of a vow made during an earthquake; cf. Ov. *Fast.* I 671 *placentur matres frugum Tellusque Ceresque,...officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur;* Hor. *Ep.* II 1. 143; Macrob. *Sat.* IV 9 § 12 (form of oath) *Tellus mater teque Juppiter obtestor. Cum Tellurem dicit, manibus terram tangit; cum Jovem dicit, manus ad caelum tollit.*

Fontis delubrum: Fons or Fontus was a son of Janus, and had an altar near the tomb of Numa on the Janiculum (Cic. *Leg.* II 56). He was worshipped by the *Fratres Arvales* in the formula *Virginibus Divis, famulis Divis, Laribus, Matri Larum, Fonti, Florae* (Wilmanns 2884, 2885). At the festival of the *Fontanalia* held in October the wells were crowned and garlands thrown into them (Varro *L. L.* VI 22). All springs were sacred, as Servius says (*Aen.* VII 84) *propter attributos illis deos;* see above II 10 on *nulla peremnia;* Hor. *Od.* IV 13 *O fons Bandusiae;* Plin. *Ep.* VIII 8 of Clitumnus; Juv. III 13 of the fount and grove of Egeria; Tac. *Ann.* I 79.

Maso: C. Papirius Maso defeated the Corsicans B.C. 231, and celebrated his triumph on the Alban Mt, as the Senate refused to grant him a triumph at Rome. Does *ex Corsica* mean 'in consequence of his Corsican victory' (like *Scaur.* § 40 *damnatus est Megaboccus ex Sardinia*); or 'out of his Corsican spoils' (like § 83 below *aureo amiculo Jovem ornarat ex manubiis*, Suet. *Oct.* 52 *argenteas statuas conflavit omnes, ex queis aureas cortinas dedicavit*, Liv. XLIII 4 § 6 *aquam ex manubiis Antium...duceret*, ib. § 7 *tabulis pictis ex praeda fanum exornavit*, ib. 5 § 8 *munera mitti legatis ex binis millibus aeris censuerunt*)?

augurum precatione: a litany contained in the *Libri Augurales* (above II 11), described by Festus as extremely obscure and antiquated in language, cf. p. 351 '*bene sponsis beneque volis*' (Müller's conj. for the evidently incorrect *volueris* of the Cod.) *in precatione augurali Messala augur ait significare 'spoponderis, volueris'*; ib. 161 '*Marspedis*' *sive sine r littera 'maspedis' in precatione solitaurilium quid significet, ne Messala quidem augur in explicatione auguriorum reperire se potuisse*

ait. The *precatio* here referred to is probably a part of the *augurium salutis* taken yearly by the augurs in time of peace, on which see *Div.* I 105, *Leg.* II 21, Suet. *Oct.* 31, Tac. *Ann.* XII 23, Dio Cass. XXXVII 24, Serv. ad *Aen.* XII 176 *precatio maxima est cum plures deos, quam in ceteris partibus auguriorum, precatur, eventusque rei bonae poscitur;* ib. III 265 *invocatio est precatio uti avertantur mala, cujus rei causa id sacrificium augurale peragitur*, Marquardt *Röm. St.* III 391. If in the *precatio maxima* all the gods were cited, we may suppose that even the smaller springs and rivers would be included.

Tiberinum: according to Varro *L. L.* v 71 Tiberinus was the title of the deity as distinguished from the river.

Almonem: a correction for the MS *anemonem.* The Almo was a small stream running into the Tiber just below the walls of Rome: the grotto which was built over its source is still in existence, containing the mutilated image of the deity of the stream. The Almo is chiefly known in connexion with the worship of Cybele, whose image brought from Pessinus was landed at its junction with the Tiber in B.C. 204, and was regularly washed there once a year, see *Dict. of Geog.* s. v.

Spinonem, Nodinum: these streams are not mentioned elsewhere: no doubt they were in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and were therefore included in the ancient litany of the augurs. The more insignificant they were in themselves, the more appropriate would they be for the purpose of Cotta's argument.

in immensum serpet: see above § 51 *quam longe serpant*, and compare the Aristotelian phrase εἰς ἄπειρον πρόεισιν or βαδιεῖται *Eth.* I 2, *Cael.* III 5 &c.

B e. (4). *No less absurd are the deified abstractions of the Stoics, and their whole system of allegorization with its strained etymologies.* §§ 61—64. (For the transposition of §§ see above § 42 n. on *ut jam docebo.*)

Ch. XXIV § 61. **rerum vim**: 'they are abstractions, not persons', cf. below § 63 *rerum naturas*, II 147 n., II 61 *ipsa res deorum nomen obtinuit;* Max Müller *Lect.* II p. 560 foll.; Limburg Brouwer *Civ. des Grecs* c. XI, vol. II p. 123 foll. ('Mythologie Morale').

mentem: cf. above § 47, and below § 88. As we find in the latter passage a distinction made between *Mens, Virtus* and *Fides* on the one hand, which are said to be *in nobis ipsis sita*, and *Spes, Salus, Ops, Victoria* on the other, which are bestowed by divine favour, Walker proposed to transpose *ut spes* here, placing it after *nobis sunt;* but it is plain that hope may be regarded either way, i.e. either subjectively as a feeling, or objectively as the occasion or ground of the feeling. Compare Lact. I 20 *haec separari ab homine non possunt: si enim colenda sunt, in homine ipso sint necesse est: si autem sunt extra hominem, quid opus est ea colere quibus*

careamus? Virtus colenda est, non imago virtutis, et colenda non sacrificio aliquo...sed voluntate sola.

intellegam, cum cognovero: 'I shall know, when I have learnt', i.e. 'I am unable at present to see; perhaps you may be able to enlighten my ignorance'. Perhaps *ex te* has been lost before *cognovero*.

fortuna: see n. on *sortes* above § 14, and below § 63 on the worship of *Mala Fortuna*, also Juv. x 365 *nullum numen habes si sit prudentia; nos te, nos facimus, Fortuna, deam*, Preller *R. M.* p. 552 foll., and for the Stoic view, Seneca *Ben.* IV 8 *naturam voca, fatum, fortunam, omnia ejusdem dei nomina sunt varie utentis sua potestate;* Cic. *Acad.* I 29 *mentem sapientiamque perfectam, quem deum appellant,...non numquam eandem fortunam, quod efficiat multa improvisa ac necopinata nobis propter obscuritatem ignorationemque causarum.*

nemo ab inconstantia sejunget: cf. II 43 *fortunam, quae amica varietati constantiam respuit;* II 56 *nulla in caelo nec fortuna* &c.

quae digna: for the Neut. instead of Fem. cf. II 7 n. and Madv. § 315 a.

§ 62. **enodatio**: 'unravelling', only found elsewhere in *Top.* 31 (*notio*=πρόληψις) *est insita et praecepta...cognitio, enodationis indigens;* but the verb *enodo* is common both in the older writers, Attius, Pacuvius, Ennius, and in Cicero, as below *in enodandis nominibus*, and *Fin.* v 27 *haec nobis explicanda sunt, sed, si enodatius, vos ignoscetis;* so Gell. XIII 10 *ad enodandos juris laqueos.*

sapientes videantur: I 41, II 64 *physica ratio non inelegans inclusa est in impias fabulas.*

quod miserandum sit=*ut id miserandum sit* 'to a pitiable degree', 'so that it makes one grieve to see you'; cf. *Orat.* I 40 *aetas nostra, quod interdum pudeat, juris ignara est*, Roby § 1690.

Saturnus: sc. *sic appellatur;* cf. II 64. We have here the same contemptuous brevity as in § 11 above. For the following etymologies cf. II 64—69.

haerebitis: as Socrates says in the *Phaedrus* p. 229.

quid Vejovi facies: 'what will you do for V.?' 'how will you treat this name?' cf. *Acad.* II 96 *quid faceret huic conclusioni* with Reid's n. and Roby § 1223. We had the Abl. *quid facies nubibus* above § 51. Ovid (*Fast.* III 429 foll.) describes the festival of Vejovis at the temple *inter duos lucos* on the Nones of March, *Juppiter est juvenis: juvenales aspice vultus; aspice deinde manum; fulmina nulla tenet...Nunc vocor ad nomen: vegrandia farra coloni, quae male creverunt, vescaque parva vocant. Vis ea si verbi est, cur non ego Vejovis aedem, aedem non magni suspicer esse Jovis?* Gellius v 12, after giving the derivation *Jovis* from *juvo*, continues *eum quoque contra deum qui non juvandi potestatem, sed vim nocendi haberet... Vejovem appellaverunt dempta atque detracta juvandi facultate* (*ve* having a privative force); *simulacrum igitur dei Vejovis...sagittas tenet, quae sunt videlicet paratae ad nocendum.* He was an ancient Sabine and Latin deity (Varro

L. L. v 74) worshipped at Alba Longa and Bovillae, and especially invoked as the god of expiations. His name occurs along with those of other deities of the under world in an old formula of imprecation (*devotio*) cited by Macrobius *Sat.* III 9. See Preller *R. M.* p. 234. The statement in *Dict. of Biog.* that he was an Etruscan god rests merely on a doubtful reading in Amm. Marc. XVII 10.

Vulcano: no satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed: Varro derived it from *ignis violentia* (*L. L.* v 70), Isidore VIII 11 § 39 from *volans candor, quasi volicanus, quod per aerem volat*, see Preller *R. M.* p. 526.

una littera: 'as far as one letter is concerned', cf. *Phil.* II 23 *non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti*, Roby § 1210. [We might also take it 'by means of a single letter', i.e. one letter according to you is enough to determine the origin of a name. R.] Mr Swainson cites Voltaire 'L'etymologie est une science où les voyelles ne font rien et les consonnes fort peu de chose'.

explicare: in *Acad.* I 32 ἐτυμολογία is translated by *verborum explicatio.*

natare: we may keep up the metaphor, though with a slight change of meaning, by our phrase 'to be more at sea', cf. Hor. *Sat.* II 7. 6 *pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens, interdum pravis obnoxia;* Sen. *Ep.* 35 § 4 *mutatio voluntatis indicat animum natare, aliubi atque aliubi apparere prout tulit ventus;* St James I 6 ὁ διακρινόμενος ἔοικε κλύδωνι θαλάσσης ἀνεμιζομένῳ καὶ ῥιπιζομένῳ, so *fluctuo* and *fluito.* [Manil. IV 254 *mutataque semper mens natat*, Optat. v 3 with *inter.* J. E. B. M.]

§ 63. **magnam molestiam suscepit—reddere**: either the gerund in *-di* or *ut* with the Subj. would have been more regular, but the Inf. is excused by the distance from the governing phrase, which has the general force of *conor* or *cupio;* cf. *Ac.* II 17 *nec esse ullam rationem disputare*, *Verr.* II 41 *capit consilium non adesse ad judicium*, Draeg. § 416, Sall. *Cat.* 17 § 6 *quibus vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat*, Caesar *B. G.* VII 26 *consilium ceperunt profugere*, Madv. §§ 389, 417 obs. 2, Zumpt § 598.

Zeno: cf. I 36 *cum Hesiodi Theogoniam interpretatur, tollit omnino usitatas perceptasque cognitiones deorum.*

Cleanthes: cf. Zeller IV pp. 325, 328 (where he mentions his treatise on the battles of the gods), 329 (his etymology of the name Apollo), 331 (of the name Dionysus).

Chrysippus: cf. I 40 *aethera esse eum quem homines Jovem appellarent*, II 63 *hic locus a Zenone tractatus, post a Cleanthe et Chrysippo pluribus verbis explicatus est.*

rerum naturas non figuras deorum: 'properties of things, not divine persons', see above § 61 *rerum vim.*

Ch. XXV. **perniciosis rebus**: cf. II 61 *vocabula consecrata sunt vitiosarum rerum* n.

Orbonae ad aedem Larum: the first two words are omitted in all Orelli's MSS, but they are given in *Ed. Bonon.* of 1494, as well as by Manutius and Lamb. from MSS of Maffaeus and Sigonius; and it is evident that they are needed to justify the appearance of *aedem Larum* among the exx. of a worship of evil; cf. Plin. *N. H.* II 7 probably copied from Cic., (men in their terror have made their prayers to diseases and plagues) *ideoque etiam publice Febris fanum in palatio dicatum est, Orbonae ad aedem Larium et ara Malae Fortunae Esquiliis.* There were three chapels to *Febris* at Rome (indicating the prevalence of the Roman fever in ancient days), cf. Val. Max. II 5 § 6 *Febrem ad minus nocendum templis colebant, quorum adhuc unum in Palatio, alterum in arcu Marianorum monumentorum, tertium in summa parte Vici Longi exstat, in eaque remedia, quae corporibus aegrorum adnexa fuerant, deferebantur.* [Minuc. 25 § 8 Ouzel, Ael. *V. H.* XII 11 Periz. J. E. B. M.] On the worship of these maleficent deities see *Leg.* II 28 *araque vetusta in Palatio Febris et altera Esquiliis Malae Fortunae detestanda, atque omnia ejus modi repudianda sunt;* Lact. I 20 *respondebit Graecia se alios deos colere ut prosint, alios ne noceant. Haec enim semper excusatio est eorum qui mala sua pro dis habent, ut Romani Rubiginem ac Febrem.* Orbona is said by Tertullian (*Ad. Nat.* II 14) to have been so called as causing bereavement, *quae in orbitatem semina* (*lumina* Preller *R. M.* p. 587) *exstinguat;* but Arnobius (IV 7) makes her the patroness of parents who have lost their children, *in tutela sunt Orbonae orbati liberis parentes.*

Larum: we read of two temples to the Lares, one to the *Lares Permarini* in the *Campus Martius*, dedicated by M. Aemilius B.C. 179, in fulfilment of a vow made in the naval battle fought against Antiochus at Myonnesus (Liv. XL 52); the other dedicated to the *Lares Publici*, which is probably referred to here, was at the top of the *Via Sacra* (Solinus I § 23).

Malae Fortunae: cf. Plaut. *Rud.* II 6. 17 *Malam Fortunam in aedes te adduxi meas.* We have other distinguishing epithets in *Leg.* II 28 *vel Hujusce Diei, vel Respiciens, vel Fors, vel Primigenia,* also *Dubia* and *Viscata* in Preller *R. M.* p. 558 foll.

Esquiliis: used as a Locative without *in*, as in Liv. I 28 § 1, *Leg.* II 28 cited above, where it is contrasted with *in Palatio.*

§ 64. **a philosophia**: 'banished from philosophy'.

indigna naturis immortalibus: I prefer this correction of Madvig's to Mu.'s *indigna iis*, as being nearer the MSS, and bringing out better the point of the objection.

habeo quid sentiam: 'I can tell what to think myself, but I cannot tell how to assent to your views'. There is no reason for changing *quid* into *quod*, cf. above § 6 *habes quid Cotta sentiat; Murena* 26 *quid responderet non habebat; Att.* VII 19 (after *nihil habeo quod ad te scribam*) *de pueris quid agam non habeo; Off.* II 7 *nec habeat umquam quid sequatur,* where Holden says '*habeo* = *scio* is always followed by *quid*', *Acad.* II 110 *non deerit quid faciat.* Heind. cites the Gr. οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω.

animum cum intellegentia: cf. II 144 *introitus cum flexibus*, Caesar *B. C.* I 26 *turres cum tabulatis* with Kraner's n.

idem de Cerere: 'and so for Ceres', of course *mutatis mutandis*, cf. II 71.

non modo—sed ne—quidem: cf. Roby § 2240, and below III 68 *ut scelus, sic ne ratio quidem defuit.*

aliunde—possim: 'I must seek elsewhere for proof both of the existence and the nature of the gods'.

quales tu—vis: for conjectural completions of the sentence see Not. Crit.

C. Criticism of the Stoic argument in proof of the Providential Government of the Universe.

(Only a few lines of this section have been preserved.)

§ 65. **ex tua partitione**: cf. above §§ 6 and 8.

mihi vero: cf. I 17, *Div.* II 110 *de quibus, si placet, disseremus. Mihi vero, inquit, placet*, Nägelsb. 197 § 2.

sed sumemus—fateare: the reading can hardly be right here. There is no opposition between *nolo* and *sumemus* to justify *sed*, and we ought to have had an object-clause with *fateare*. Possibly there is an intended break in the construction after *sed*, the following words being introduced parenthetically: possibly also the *sed* after *fateare* is a corruption of the first syllable of an object-clause. The hiatus which follows covers the whole of the third section (on Providential government generally) and part of the fourth (on the special care for man).

D. Criticism of the Stoic argument in proof of the Providential Care for Man. §§ 66—93.

(The first part is lost.)

a. *The gift of reason is an injury rather than a benefit* §§ 66—78: (1) *proved by examples from tragedy* §§ 66—68: (2) *it is only right reason which is a benefit, and this is so rare that we cannot derive it from God, who would never be guilty of partiality.* §§ 69, 70.

nequaquam istuc: the lines are trochaic tetrameter catalectic, translated from Eur. *Med.* 365 ἀλλ' οὔτι ταύτῃ ταῦτα, μὴ δοκεῖτέ πω· ἔτ' εἴσ' ἀγῶνες τοῖς νεωστὶ νυμφίοις, καὶ τοῖσι κηδεύσασιν οὐ σμικροὶ πόνοι. δοκεῖς γὰρ ἄν με τόνδε θωπεῦσαί ποτε, εἰ μή τι κερδαίνουσαν ἢ τεχνωμένην; If the lines are literally translated, *ut supplicarem* must depend on something omitted; otherwise we may take it in the sense *egone ut supplicarem*, as Plaut. *Trin.* III 3. 21 *ut ego nunc adolescenti thensaurum indicem?*

blandiloquentia: [found also in Hil. *in Ps.* 139; *blandiloqens* is used by Laberius ap. Macr. *S.* II 7 § 3, *blandiloquium* by Aug. J. E. B. M.]

Blandiloquus and *blandiloquentulus* are used by Plautus; and *suaviloquentia* occurs in *Brut.* 58.

ni ob rem: so I read for the *ni orbem* or *niobem* of MSS. Cf. Ter. *Phorm.* III 2. 41 *non pudet vanitatis? Minume, dum ob rem.* In this way the speech gets something of a ratiocinative character answering to the *εἰ μή τι κερδαίνουσαν* of Euripides.

Ch. XXVI § 66. **parumne ratiocinari**: 'is there any lack of reasoning here?' This is the opposite of Medea's own feeling. She attributes the murder of her children to the might of passion overpowering reason, *Med.* 1079 *θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων, ὅσπερ μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν βροτοῖς.* The *Medea* of Ennius is often cited by Cic. e.g. *Fat.* 35, *Cael.* 18, *Invent.* I 91, *Top.* 61, *Tusc.* I 46, III 63, IV 69, *Off.* III 62, *Fin.* I 4, *Orat.* III 217, *Rabir.* 29, *Fam.* VII 6. It is probable that most of the following citations are from it, cf. below § 75, and § 72.

nefariam pestem: the loss of her children.

qui volt esse quod volt—dabit: 'where there's a will there's a way', lit. 'he who (really) wishes what he wishes, finds things going as he would have them'. Compare Caesar's words of Brutus (Cic. *Att.* XIV 1) *quicquid vult valde vult;* and for the phrase, *Att.* III 23 *ut se initia dederint perscribas*, Ter. *Hec.* III 3. 20 *omnibus nobis ut dant se res, ita magni atque humiles sumus.*

seminator: this rare word occurs also in II 86, [and in Lact. V 2, Ambr. *Herc.* III 44, Jul. in Aug. *c. Jul.* I. 9: *seminatrix* is found in Aug. Hieron. &c. J. E. B. M.] As to the principle condemned, its effect is to make a man trust to the force of the individual will in spite of external difficulties. Whether it is for good or ill, depends on the motive, but nothing great is likely to be achieved without it.

ille: 1st syllable short, as usually in Plautus, see Wagner *Aulul.* p. 45[2], who refers to Corssen II 624 for exx.

traversa mente: 'misguided', 'with purpose all awry', cf. Cato *Orig.* V 1 (ap. Gell. VII 3 § 14) *secundae res laetitia transvorsum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intellegendo*, Quintil. X 1 § 110 (of Cicero) *cum transversum vi sua judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, sed sequi.*

tradidit repagula: 'put the keys into my hand', lit. 'delivered up the fastenings, or bolts' (*pango*). See Rich s. v., and *Div.* I 74 *valvae clausae repagulis.* ['Marquardt (*Priv. Alt.* p. 225) describes them as two hooks, which hung in a staple on each of the doorposts and were fixed in a firm ring on the inner side of each of the folding doors. They were used instead of a cross bar (*sera*). He also quotes Festus p. 281 *repagula sunt, ut Verrius ait, quae patefaciundi gratia qua ita figuntur ut ex contrario quae oppanguntur*, which being evidently corrupt, he proposes to read (after *ait*) *ita* ('as well') *quae patefaciundi gratia figuntur ut* &c.; understanding the former class of *repagulum* as a door handle. Accepting this emendation we might take *repagula* in the present passage as referring to some sort of hook, which was used (like a key) to open the door, not to

shut it'. R.] Becker (*Gallus* tr. p. 282 foll.) referring to the same passage, concludes from it that the *rep.* "allowed of the door being opened with less trouble than by the *sera*, and that, as the name occurs only in the plural, a cross beam is not denoted by it, but two bolts meeting from opposite sides (usually of wood, Plin. *N. H.* XVI 42 § 82)". Rich has an engraving of this (*Comp.* p. 549). As it is plain that both explanations are merely guesses, it is worth while to consider whether anything may be learnt from an examination of the word itself. *Repagulum* might be used either of 'that which fixes back', or of 'that which unfixes', 'unfastens', such as a key. It is hardly likely that the same word would be employed in two such opposite senses: the passage in Festus is ambiguous, and in any case we cannot be sure that Verrius may not have invented a meaning to suit this particular line. Moreover the fact that the plural form alone is found in this connexion, suits better with fastenings, such as Marquardt describes, than with a handle or key. I think also that the idea of 'fixing back' suits better with his 'stays' than with Becker's bolts. If however they were usually of wood, they could hardly be suspended from a ring fixed in the door: it would seem more natural to suppose that they were removable bars resting on sockets and placed obliquely between the folding doors and the posts. The word is also used of barriers in the race-course (Ovid. *Met.* II 155, Lucan I 295): in Amm. Marc. 16. 12. 38 it occurs in the sing. with a metaphorical force, *cum equites nihil praeter fugae circumspectantes praesidia vidisset Caesar, concito equo velut repagulum quoddam cohibuit.* As to the phrase *rep. tradere*, it would be most easily explained if it were the custom for these bars to be handed over to the conqueror as a sign of surrender when a town was taken. It might then be used metaphorically of any surrender. The word is used figuratively *Verr.* V 39 *omnia repagula juris, pudoris, officiique perfringere.* Medea refers to the reprieve she had extorted by her prayers and the use she means to make of it.

quibus—recludam: 'by making use of which I shall unlock (let loose) all my fury'. Medea speaks as if her wrath were locked up in a chest by Creon's decree that she was to leave at once. The reprieve of a day (Eur. *Med.* 355) enables her to open this chest and let loose her fury. If we translate *trad. rep.* 'has put at my discretion the fastenings', then *quibus* 'by which fastenings', is loosely used for *quibus traditis* 'through the surrender of which I shall be able to unlock &c.' *Illi* probably Creon, cf. *Med.* 371 ὁ δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον μωρίας ἀφίκετο, ὥστ' ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τἄμ' ἑλεῖν βουλεύματα γῆς ἐκβαλόντι κ.τ.λ., and 394 οὐ γάρ...χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοὐμὸν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ. πικροὺς δ' ἐγώ σφιν καὶ λυγροὺς θήσω γάμους, πικρὸν δὲ κῆδος καὶ φυγὰς ἐμὰς χθονός. Ennius seems not to have perceived that πικρόν was predicate to φυγάς as well as to κῆδος.

hanc videlicet—habent: 'this reason forsooth is something denied to beasts'.

§ 67. **munere affecti**: see n. on I 38 *honore afficere.*

postquam pater: cf. *Manil.* 22 *ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam*

profugisse dicitur, quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui membra in iis locis qua se parens persequeretur dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa maerorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. This part of the story is not touched on by Euripides, and the lines are perhaps taken from the *Medea* of Accius, cited above II 89, cf. Ribbeck *Trag. Rel.* p. 318. For a similar mixing up of tragedies on the same subject by different authors see *Tusc.* IV 69.

ut comprehendatur parat: 'makes preparations for her being seized'. We should rather have expected the Active, cf. II 23 *confirmari* and n. in Addenda.

articulatim: 'joint by joint'; rarely found in this literal sense.

id ea gratia: ('she did this) for this reason', 'for the sake of this', cf. II 27 n. on *quam similitudinem*, and Mayor on *Phil.* II 25.

dum captaret: 'whilst the father should be picking up', for other exx. of *dum*, 'whilst', followed by Subj. see II 2 n. and *Ac.* II 87 *dum conquisierit.*

familiari parricidio: that the epithet is not otiose appears from the law of Numa in Festus under *Parici Quaestores* (p. 221 Müll.) '*si quis hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit, paricida esto.* [A law of Pompey's included parents, uncles, aunts, first cousins, near relations by marriage, and patrons, in the list of persons whose murder was punished as a *parricidium*, see *Dig.* 49 tit. 9, l. 1. R.] Quintilian evidently regards the word as, in its original sense, equivalent to our 'parricide', cf. VIII 6 § 34, where he is treating of κατάχρησις or *abusio, quae non habentibus nomen suum accommodat quod in proximo est*, and gives as an instance *parricida* 'which stands also for the murderer of mother or brother'.

§ 68. **ut scelus, sic ne ratio quidem**: for the subaudition of the negative in the former clause, see I 3 *sicut reliquae virtutes, item pietas inesse non potest;* and cf. *non modo* used for *non modo non* before *ne—quidem;* for the weak force of the latter phrase see Index.

epulas comparans: see I 112.

majus miscendumst malum: 'I must brew a bigger bale'. These are the words of Atreus deliberating how to avenge the wrong done by his brother Thyestes in seducing his wife Aerope: they are taken, like the three following quotations, from the *Atreus* of Accius, which we also find cited in *Orat.* III 218, *Tusc.* IV 77, *Off.* I 97, and III 102, *Phil.* I 34, *Sext.* 102, *Planc.* 59, *Pis.* 19, perhaps below § 90. Alliteration was a marked feature of the Saturnian verse and generally of the older poetry of Rome, as of England.

qui—comprimam: 'by which to quell and crush his cruel spirit'. For the use of *compr.* cf. *Harusp.* 55 *ista serpens compressa atque illisa morietur;* for *contundam* Attius l. 174 Ribb. *ferum feroci contundendum imperiost.*

Ch. XXVII. **ille ipse**: Thyestes himself is another example of the misuse of reason.

illexe: so Plaut. *Merc.* I 1. 53 *amorem multos illexe in dispendium*; Sch. compares *surrexe* Hor. *Sat.* I 9. 73, *divisse* ib. II 3. 169, *despexe* Plaut. *Mil.* II 6. 72; Allen cites *consumpse* Lucr. I 234, *abstraxe* ib. III 650, *subduxe* Varro *R. R.* II 1, *traxe* *Aen.* V 786; see Roby § 663.

recte et verissime: for the combination of positive with superlative, comp. Gell. XX 1 *aut obscurissima aut dura*, with comparative *Ac.* II 94 Reid.

piaclum: the reading of the MSS (*periclum*) would refer to the danger of the throne passing into the hand of a usurper *qui regnum adulterio quaereret*; but as this is presented to us below as a different aspect of the crime of Thyestes, I prefer Allen's emendation *piaclum*.

coinquinari: written *conquinatae* Colum. VIII 5 § 19; cf. *probeat* for *prohibeat* Lucr. I 977.

admisceri genus: Ribbeck's emendation *ac misceri*, accepted by edd., seems to me unnecessary and rather weak. I take the words to mean that an alien race was introduced (mixed up with the true stock) by adultery.

at id ipsum—quaereret: refers back to *non sat habuit*: the adultery was committed from motives of policy. The Subj. *quaereret* gives the reason for *callide*.

adde: I agree with Mu. in adopting this conjecture of Ribbeck's. The *addo* of MSS seems to me a prosaic and unnatural way of speaking. The following construction is not easy, if we retain the MS reading *quem clam* in the 4th line; but *quondam* read by most edd. is surely very weak. There would be all the less ground for the wrath of Atreus, if the act which provoked it took place long ago. If we had the Demonstrative *hunc clam*, the construction would be simple, 'add that Thyestes stole the lamb given as the palladium of my sovereignty': with the Relative, we must take *agnum* as dependent on *adde* and explaining the relative clause *quod—misit*; and then the essential fact will be introduced, as it were incidentally, in the 2nd relative clause *quem—regia*. Such looseness is not, I think, unnatural in early writing. Translate 'Add to this that marvel, which the fathers of the gods sent to me for an omen to establish my kingdom, a lamb amid my flocks shining with golden fleece, and that Thyestes dared to steal this from the palace'. For the Inf. after Rel. cf. Roby § 1781.

[**stabilimen**: ἅπ. λεγ. *stabilimentum* occurs in Plaut., Plin. *N. H.*, and several times in Val. Max. J. E. B. M.]

agnum: Seneca *Thyest.* 225 *est Pelopis altis nobile in stabulis pecus, arcanus aries ductor opulenti gregis, cujus per omne corpus effuso coma dependet auro...possessor hujus regnat, hunc cunctae domus fortuna sequitur.* The story is told in a chorus of Eur. *Electra* 700 foll. (Pan sent from the Argive hills a lamb with golden fleece μακαρίων τυράννων φάσματα, δείματα): in the *Orestes* 995 foll. it is said that the lamb was sent by Hermes, in punishment for the murder of his son Myrtilus by Pelops, to cause the ruin of Atreus (see below § 90). It is alluded to by Varro *R. R.* II 1 § 6

pecudes propter caritatem aureas habuisse pelles tradiderunt, ut Argis Atreus, quam sibi Thyesten subduxe queritur; and by Tarquitius on Tuscan augury, cited by Macrob. *Sat.* III 7 § 2 *purpureo aureove colore ovis ariesve si aspergetur, principi ordinis et generis summa cum felicitate largitatem auget.* Pausanias (II 18) mentions a stone figure of a ram on the grave of Thyestes (hence called *οἱ κριοί*) near Mycenae, *ὅτι τὴν ἄρνα ὁ Θυέστης εἶχε τὴν χρυσῆν.*

§ 69. **videturne**: cf. II 70, and below § 82 *videsne igitur*, *Orat.* II 62 *videtisne quantum munus sit oratoris historia?* where Wilkins says '*-ne* in this phrase is virtually equivalent to *nonne*, as often in Plautus and Terence, who do not use the fuller form', and refers to Kühner II 1002 and Reid on *Senect.* 31; (compare however Ribbeck *Frag. Com.* p. 119 n. '*nonne*' *qua particula Terentium certe usum constat, de Plauto dubitatur,* and see *Amphitr.* I 1. 251, 253). Sch. cites *Off.* III 68 *suntne igitur insidiae tendere plagas? Tusc.* V 35 *miser ergo Archelaus? certe, si injustus. Videturne omnem hic beatam vitam in una virtute ponere?* ib. II 26 *videsne abundare me otio? Off.* III 78 *videsne...neque Gygi illi posse veniam dari?* [See also Plin. *Ep.* III 16 § 13 n. and Obbar on Hor. *Ep.* I 17. 38. J.E.B.M.] This use is especially common with *video*, and gives an ironical appearance of impartiality to the question. So *ἆρα* is used for *ἆρ' οὐ* as in Eur. *Alc.* 341 *ἆρά μοι στένειν παρά*; and so amongst ourselves, 'do you see' or 'don't you see', 'do you know' or 'don't you know', may be often used indifferently. For exx. of *-ne* equal to *num* see I 91 n.

scaena: *Cato* 65 *idque cum in vita, tum in scaena intellegi potest ex eis fratribus, qui in Adelphis sunt.* So below § 74 *exeamus e theatro.*

multo—paene majoribus: edd. cite *Tusc.* V 104 *vir sapiens multo arte majore praeditus, Att.* VII 16 *Gnaeus noster multo animi plus habet,* as exx. of the separation of *multo* from the comparative; but would Cic. have used *multo* and *paene* with the same comparative? I incline to think that either *magis* has been lost after *multo*, or that this is a careless expression in which one comparative does the work of two, *multo paene majoribus* standing for *multo magis referta est p. m.*

sentit—ut—peccetur: for the Interrogative *ut* after *sentio*, Sch. compares *Rosc. Am.* 66 *videtisne ut eos agitent Furiae?*

forum: 'the law-courts', see below § 74.

Campus: 'the hustings'.

socii, provinciae: it was to put a stop to injustice and fraud towards allies and provincials that the law *De pecuniis repetundis* was enacted 149 B.C. and confirmed by many subsequent enactments; yet still the ill-treatment of subject populations continued to be the great blot on the Roman character till ehe end of the Republic and to a certain extent under the Empire, cf. *Off.* II 75 *tanta sublatis legibus et judiciis expilatio direptioque sociorum, ut imbecillitate aliorum, non nostra virtute valeamus;* Juv. I 49, VIII 87 foll. (*miserere inopum sociorum*) with Mayor's nn.

ratione: see Mayor on Juv. X 4.

fiat: Subj. because the relative clause is subordinate to *ut peccetur*, cf. I 96 *ut immortalitate vincamur, sic animi praestantia vinci;* below § 92 *ut membra moveantur*, and Roby § 1778.

ut satius fuerit: see n. on I 69, and cf. just below *haud scio an melius fuerit* 'perhaps it would have been better'.

cum pernicie: cf. II 8 *cum magno vulnere* and Index.

vinum aegrotis: on the use of wine for the sick, see Plato *Rep.* III 405 foll., Theophrast. *Char.* 13, and below § 78.

spe dubiae salutis: 'from the hope of a possible cure'. Allen cites *dubiae dum vota salutis conciperent* Lucan I 506.

motum celerem cogitationis: cf. Plato *Leg.* X 896 'it is soul which moves the universe ταῖς αὑτῆς κινήσεσι, αἷς ὀνόματά ἐστι βούλεσθαι, σκοπεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, βουλεύεσθαι, δοξάζειν, ὀρθῶς ἐψευσμένως, χαίρουσαν λυπουμένην κ.τ.λ., below § 71 *sine animi motu*, *Off.* I 132 *motus animorum duplices sunt, alteri cogitationis, alteri appetitus.*

pestifera est: so edd. after Sch. for *p. sint* of MSS. The Ind. is required, as giving the view of the speaker, like *quia prodest* before.

§ 70. **idcirco consuluit**: 'abbreviated for *idcirco consuluisse dicitur a vobis*' Sch. Cf. below *non idcirco—uterentur*, and § 79 *cur negligant.*

bona ratione donavit: a little below it is asserted that man receives bare *ratio* from God, and achieves *bona ratio* by his own effort.

si modo ulli sunt: so in § 71 *si modo habemus*, see Draeg. § 555, Mayor on Plin. *Ep.* III 15 § 3, and Index.

non placet paucis—consultum sit: cf. I 23, a similar argument was used by the English deists to disprove a divine revelation, see Butler's *Analogy* Pt. II ch. 6.

Da (3). *It cannot be alleged that reason is in itself good, and that any evil which may arise from it is owing to man's abuse of it. As a fact it is of neutral quality, and is made good or bad by man.* §§ 70, 71.

There are several difficulties in the sections which follow. If we take a general view of the whole passage from § 65 to § 78, we find (1) the evil effects of reason shown by examples from tragedy (§§ 65—68), from comedy (§§ 72, 73), from the law-courts (§§ 74, 75); and (2) the rejoinder to the Stoic objection that these are owing not to reason in itself, but to man's abuse of reason (§§ 70, 71 and §§ 76—78). It is difficult to explain this breaking up of the subject; and closer inspection shows repetition in § 69 as compared with § 74 (the transition from the stage to the forum), and again in § 69 as compared with § 78 (the danger arising from the use of medicinal remedies). Turning more particularly to §§ 70 and 71, we find still greater difficulties. The sentence *nec enim Herculi—potuerant* comes in very abruptly, and in fact is scarcely intelligible, as it stands in

the MSS. It is only by a comparison with the parallel passage in § 76 that we learn *patrimonia spe bene tradendi relinquimus, qua possumus falli; deus falli qui potest?* This of course explains why there can be no comparison between the divine gift and the human legacy, but the essential point, that God cannot err, is not mentioned in the earlier passage. If we transfer the sentences *non enim ut patrimonium—voluissent* from § 71 and place them after *similitudo*, we remove them from a context in which they are unmeaning, and we get a natural explanation for the question *quae est in collatione ista similitudo.* Again the sentences beginning *quae enim libido*, and *injustitiae autem* seem to me to have no connexion with those which precede them according to the MS order; but, if we put *injustitiae—subesset* after *amice dedit*, and then go on with *quae enim libido—a nobis*, everything falls into its proper place. Lastly it seems to me far more natural that the general statement *multi enim—obfuerunt* should precede the particular examples *nec enim Herculi—potuerunt*, than the reverse. The only difficulty which will then remain is the omission of the statement contained in § 76 that 'God cannot make mistakes as men do', which ought to have followed *nocere voluissent*; but this omission is easily explicable, if I am right in my general view of the dislocation which the passage has undergone. It remains to account for the repetitions above noticed in the general argument; and this seems to me most easily done, if we suppose Cicero to have written, first of all, the shorter summary contained in §§ 69—71, and then to have expanded it in chapters XXIX to XXXII *Medea modo—nemo esse possit* (§§ 71—79); and that both were inserted in the text by the mistake of the original editor. Or is it possible that Carneades met the Stoic proof of Divine benevolence shown in the gift of reason, by a twofold argument, one that which Cicero gives fully in the 2nd passage and briefly and confusedly in the 1st, viz. our experience of the mischief arising from the use of reason, which an infinitely wise Being must have foreseen; and the other, that we cannot judge of the intention of an agent from the result of his action, because experience shows that well-intended actions are often harmful and ill-intended beneficial? If we are to take this view, Cicero has entirely failed to distinguish between the two arguments, and has also destroyed the force of the latter by introducing his *quae est similitudo*, our human experience being the only ground on which such an argument could be based.

Ch. XXVIII. **huic loco sic soletis occurrere**: 'you are accustomed to meet (ἀπαντᾶν) this line of argument as follows'. *Locus* is not merely 'topic', but an argument capable of general application. There is no reference here to anything in the speech of Balbus. For the subject matter see below § 76.

non idcirco—uterentur: 'man's abuse of the Divine favour is no proof that heaven has not made the best provision for us'. The verb is attracted to the tense of the Infinitive; see I 8 n. on *profecisse*.

quisquam istuc negat: as I have explained in the Introduction on MSS, I think the archetype must have had *quisquam stuc*, which seems to me to differ from *quisquamne istuc* as being less ceremonious and more contemptuous and therefore better suited to the passage. Lachmann on Lucr. p. 197 gives examples of the shortened form of *iste* in Cicero, and we may probably add *naturae sta* in § 27, where A gives *ste*, cf. *Ac.* II 109 with Reid's n. For the interrogative use of *quisquam* cf. *Div. Caec.* 20 *in ejus modi re quisquam tam impudens reperietur? Acad.* II 89 *quisquam sanissimus tam certa putat quae videt quam is putabat quae videbantur? Verr.* I 142 *quid enim? quisquam ad meam pecuniam me invito aspirat, quisquam accedit? Verr.* II 137 *hoc cum tute fateare, quisquam dubitabit quin...*, also *Piso* 26, 30, *Sulla* 45, *Phil.* X 14.

quae est in collatione ista similitudo: cf. above § 9 *quam simile istud sit tu videris*, and below § 90.

nec enim Herculi: as pointed out above, this is an answer to the general argument from effect to cause, but has no reference to the particular illustration employed, the evil effects of a legacy misused, nor to the special point urged by the Stoics, viz. man's power to counteract the benevolent design of the Deity.

vomica: 'a tumour', lit. 'something which discharges'. Pliny uses it of quicksilver inside the matrix (*N. H.* XXXIII 32). Jason of Pherae, who at one time threatened to give to Thessaly the preponderance which Macedon obtained under Philip, was assassinated B.C. 370. For the story here told cf. Plin. *N. H.* VII 51 *Pheraeus Jason deploratus a medicis vomicae morbo, cum mortem in acie quaereret, vulnerato pectore medicinam invenit ex hoste.* From this it would seem that it was a wound inflicted by an enemy in battle; but Seneca *Benef.* II 18. § 8 rather implies that it was the attempt of an assassin: *venenum aliquando pro remedio fuit, non ideo numeratur inter salubria. Quaedam prosunt nec obligant: tuber quidam tyranni gladio divisit, qui ad occidendum eum venerat: non ideo ille tyrannus gratias egit, quod rem, quam medicorum manus reformidaverant, nocendo sanavit;* also Plut. *Mor.* p. 89 (where it is said to have happened, not to Jason, but to τὸν Θέσσαλον Προμηθέα), Val. Max. I 8 extr. 6.

qui dederit: 'the man that gave'. *Qui* with a general or indefinite force, when it is subordinate to a Subj., is usually itself followed by a Subj. The *qui dedit* below suggests a definite instance, 'the giver' or 'the man who gave'.

§ 71. **suscipitur...perficitur**: rightly joined with *facinus*, but only by zeugma with *avaritia*.

sine animi motu: cf. above § 69 *motum istum celerem cogitationis*.

omnis opinio ratio est: 'every belief is of the nature of thought'. Plato and Aristotle draw a broad distinction between δόξα and νοῦς or λόγος, but the Academics treated it as a mere verbal difference; the same kind of mental assent was knowledge in the wise and opinion in the foolish (Sext. VII 153). The Stoics even went so far as to say that every feeling

was a judgment and involved a rational element, cf. Plut. *Mor.* p. 441 *τὸ πάθος εἶναι λόγον πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐκ φαύλης κρίσεως ῥώμην προσλαβόντα*, so Galen (*Hipp. Plat.* p. 476) 'Chrysippus identifies the rational and the emotional faculties'. See below.

bonam rationem—a nobis: see below on § 86 *virtutem nemo umquam acceptam deo rettulit.*

timiditatis semina: compare the definition *metus est opinio impendentis mali Tusc.* IV 15. The exact reverse of the statement in the text would be nearer the truth. The seed of every virtue or vice is the natural impulse, which is elevated into a virtue by the process of rationalization: to paraphrase the words of Aristotle, 'moral virtue is a particular state of the irrational part of the soul, under the limitations of right reason'. Timidity is a quality common to man with the irrational animals; his superior intelligence gives it a wider scope, but is in no wise the cause of it.

Ch. XXIX. **inita subductaque ratione—meditantes**: 'planning their atrocious crimes with a cool calculation of the profits'. Literally *inire rationem* is 'to go into a calculation', as in Cato *R. R.* 2 *rationem inire oportet operarum, dierum; subd. rat.* is 'to balance accounts', i.e. to subtract one side from the other, cf. *Hortens.* fr. 89 Orelli (Non. p. 399) *non et sine ea cogitatione ineundis subducendisque rationibus; Fin.* II 60 *quid? fortes viri voluptatumne calculis subductis praelium ineunt?* ib. § 78, Plaut. *Capt.* I 2 89 *subducam rationem quantillum argentum mi siet; Curcul.* III 1. 1 *subduxi ratiunculam quantum aeris mihi sit, quantumque alieni siet.*

D a (4). *The mischievous effects of reason shown by examples from Comedy.* §§ 72, 73.

§ 72. **levitates comicae**: 'the trifles of comedy', cf. *Fin.* I 62 *amatoriis levitatibus dediti.* These are properly included in *scaena* above § 69; the adjoining words *sentit forum* are also repeated below § 79 in the form *veniamus in forum.*

parumne semper: 'do they not show abundance of reasoning on all occasions?' cf. above § 66 *parumne ratiocinari.* Sch. in his appendix points out that *parum* is to be taken with *in ratione versantur*, not with *semper*, so that there is no reason for changing *semper* to *saepe* (as Madv.).

Eunucho: the lines are taken from the 1st scene of Terence's play. They are quoted also by Horace (*Sat.* II 3. 262 foll.) and Persius (*Sat.* V 161).

Synephebis: cf. above I 13.

Academicorum more: cf. I 11 *quibus propositum est contra omnes dicere*, and I 13 *procax Academia.*

in amore: Ribbeck restores the metre as follows, *in amore suave est summo summaque inopia.*

studeat tui: the object exciting emotion is found in the Gen., not only with Impersonals, such as *poenitet pudet*, but also with Personal verbs in

the older writers, e.g. Plaut. *Mil. Gl.* 794 *ille ejus domi cupiet*, ib. 956 *quae cupiunt tui*, where Lorenz cites *Aul.* 243 *fastidit mei*, *Stich.* 334, Ter. *Phorm.* 971 *vereri feminae;* so *revereor* in Varro ap. Non. 497, and *cupiens* ordinarily, see Roby § 1328.

§ 73. **suggerit**: 'subjoins', cf. Liv. II 8 *Bruto statim Lucretium suggerunt.*

fructu fallas—nomen: ['one may cheat him of the profits or pocket a debt by a (stolen or forged) letter'. Plaut. *Curcul.* 360—460 and Molière's *Les fourberies de Scapin* would illustrate this. R.]. *Averto* is strictly to turn aside from its proper end to one's own use, cf. *Verr.* III 170 *ut praetor ...pecunias, quas civitatibus distribuere debeat, eas omnes avertat atque auferat; Philipp.* V 11 *sestertium septiens millies falsis perscriptionibus avertit* ('by means of false pay warrants'). *Nomen* is properly the debtor's name in the ledger, hence a debt; cf. *Verr.* V 17 *pecuniam sibi esse in nominibus, numeratam in praesenti non habere*, see Holden on *Off.* III 59.

percutias pavidum: 'frighten him out of his wits by a piece of bad news'.

neque ut: I prefer this reading to the *nec quid* of Ribbeck and Mu. It is not the 'what', but the *how*, which puzzles the son, 'how can I rob one who treats me so liberally?'

inde = *ab eo*, so *hinc* (Ter. *Ad.* III 3. 7 *Syrum video, hinc scibo*); *unde* (*Orat.* I 67 *ille ipse unde cognovit*), and frequently, see Roby § 1263, Reid on *Cato* 12, Dietsch on Sall. *Cat.* I 3.

praestrigias praestrinxit: 'my father's generosity has trumped all my tricks', 'defeated my stratagems', lit. 'taken the edge off (i.e. 'spoilt') my juggling'. As to the spelling, the oldest codex preserves the *r* just below, and this is the form in the best MSS of Plautus, see Georges s. v. The later form *praestigiae* is due to that tendency to lighten the pronunciation of compounds, which shows itself also in such changes as that of *a* into *i*; for other exx. of the omission of *r* see Roby § 185. 2. The word is often used metaphorically as in *Acad.* II 45 (there is need of attention) *ne ab iis, quae clara sunt ipsa per sese, quasi praestigiis quibusdam et captionibus depellamur; Fin.* IV 74 *ex isdem verborum praestigiis* (the Stoic paradoxes have arisen).

Phormio: Act II Sc. 2 of Terence's play.

Da (5). *The mischievous effects of reason shown by examples from the law-courts.* §§ 74, 75.

Ch. XXX § 74. **in forum**: see above § 69.

[**sessum it**: *sedere*, like καθῆσθαι, of the judge on the bench. For the phrase cf. Sen. *Contr.* 180 § 9 *jussit ire sessum in equestria.* J. E. B. M.], also Cic. *Fam.* X 32 § 2 *Herennium in XIIII sessum deduxit.*

quid ut judicetur: on the position of *ut* Sch. refers to Madv. *Fin.* II 61.

qui—incenderit: on the use of *qui* as an interrogative substantive see Madv. § 88. It is rarely found except in dependent questions, cf. *Verr.* v 166 *qui esset ignorabas, speculatorem esse suspicabare; Div. in Caec.* 53 *non id solum spectari debet, qui debeat, sed etiam illud, qui possit ulcisci.*

tabularium: the record office. Cicero refers elsewhere to the destruction of *tabularia* by fire, e.g. *Arch.* 8 *hic tu tabulas desideras Heracliensium publicas, quas Italico bello incenso tabulario interisse scimus omnes.* Sch. identifies this with the burning mentioned in the text, but as it is related as an incident of the war, it seems forced to connect it with the case of private arson here referred to. Another instance occurs in *Rabir.* 8, *an de peculatu facto, an de tabulario incenso longa oratio est exprimenda*, 'a charge which was once brought against a relative of Rabirius, but never against himself'. Turnebus in his note on the last passage suggests that there is an allusion to Sosius; but, in that case, we should have expected to find there some allusion to the confession here spoken of; as the date of the *Pro Rabirio* is B.C. 63, and our dialogue is supposed to have taken place in 76. A third instance is that of Clodius (*Milo* 73) *aedem Nympharum incendit ut memoriam publicam recensionis tabulis publicis impressam exstingueret.* [On the record office cf. *Annali d. inst.* 1881 pp. 60—73. J. E. B. M.]

quod facinus occultius: 'what crime could be better hidden', and therefore show more calculation, than to destroy the building in order that the record of a particular account might be wanting?

Sosius: not mentioned elsewhere. Brieger (p. 19 foll.) thinks he is the same as the person alluded to below under the probably corrupt name *Lalenus*, because of the *id quoque* and also of the use of the Sing. *hoc homine.*

splendidus: cf. *Fin.* II 58 *C. Plotio, equite Romano splendido; Verr.* III 60 *equitibus Romanis non obscuris neque ignotis, sed honestis et illustribus.* The terms *splendidus* and *illustris*, here used vaguely of high birth or other distinction, acquired a more definite connotation under Augustus, who constituted a separate class of knights possessing a senatorial income: to these were opposed the poorer knights, known as *modici*, see Tac. *Ann.* I 73, II 59, XI 4. Hence *splendidus* is used by itself to connote 'equestrian', see Baumgarten Crusius Index to Suetonius p. 618.

transcripserit: 'altered', lit. 'copied', cf. *Cluent.* 41 (Oppianicus having got hold of the will) *digito legata delevit, et cum id multis locis fecisset, ne lituris coargui posset, testamentum in alias tabulas transcriptum signis adulterinis obsignavit;* used of transfers in book-keeping, e.g. Liv. XXXV 7 *via fraudis inita est, ut in socios, qui non tenerentur iis legibus* (the Roman laws against usury) *nomina transcriberent; ita libero foenore obruebantur debitores;* [see Gaius III 128 foll. R.].

L. Alenus: the readings differ. If Brieger is right in supposing that we have here the cognomen of the above-named Sosius, perhaps *L* may be

a corruption of *ille*. The reference to the same person at one time by the *nomen*, at another by the *cognomen* is very common, cf. the use of Lucilius and Balbus in this dialogue.

sex primorum: the first six scribes of the treasury (*scribae quaestorii*), cf. Mommsen *Röm. St.* I 273, Wilmanns *Inscr.* 1297, 1298, 1809.

cognosce: 'take note of other judicial inquiries'.

auri Tolossani: Q. Servilius Caepio, consul in B.C. 106 received the province of Gallia Narbonensis during the Cimbrian war. The people of Tolosa (Toulouse) having joined the Cimbri, Caepio sacked their town and temples, in which were great quantities of gold, 'the produce of the auriferous region near the Pyrenees......The treasure was kept in chambers in the temples and also in sacred tanks (Posid. ap. Strab. IV p. 188 cited in *Dict. of Geog.*). Strabo l. c. says, that according to another less credible account, these treasures were brought home by the Tectosages from the sack of Delphi. Justin adds (XXXII 3) that in consequence they were visited by a pestilence, from which they were not freed until *aurum argentumque bellis sacrilegiisque quaesitum in Tolosensem lacum mergerent.* Caepio was severely punished for this act of sacrilege. In B.C. 105 he was totally defeated by the Cimbri at Arausio, and on his return to Rome 'he was deprived of the proconsulship by a vote of the people and his property confiscated. The next year he was expelled from the senate by a 2nd decree of the people; and in B.C. 103 some of the tribunes headed by Saturninus and Norbanus proposed a special commission to inquire into the embezzlement and treason committed in Gaul. Caepio was arrested and condemned, and the intervention of one of the tribunes only succeeded in commuting the sentence of death to one of exile' Wilkins *Orat.* I p. 9. His place of exile was Smyrna: one tradition however says that he was executed at Rome (Val. Max. VI 9 § 13). Strabo l. c. says of him, *ἐν δυστυχήμασι καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον, ὡς ἱερόσυλον ἐκβληθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, διαδόχους δ' ἀπολιπόντα παῖδας, ἃς συνέβη καταπορνευθείσας, ὡς εἴρηκε Τιμαγένης, αἰσχρῶς ἀπολέσθαι.* In the *De Oratore* Antonius briefly sketches the line of his defence for Norbanus, the opponent of Caepio, who was tried on a charge of *majestas* in B.C. 95 for his conduct in the prosecution of C. but no allusion is there made to the plunder of Tolosa; it is only to the defeat at Arausio (*Orat.* II 199). Elsewhere Cicero takes the aristocratic view, and speaks of Caepio as an example of a good man suffering adversity (*Tusc.* V 14). But the prevailing view was the opposite: the *aurum Tolossanum* became proverbial of the ill-gotten wealth which brings no good, see Gell. III 9 *quisquis ex ea direptione aurum attigit misero cruciabilique exitu periit.*

conjurationis Jugurthinae: cf. Sall. *Jug.* 40 *C. Manilius Limetanus trib. pl. rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur in eos quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglexisset, quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; Brut.* 127 (*Galba*) *rogatione Manilia Jugurthinae conjurationis invidia...oppressus est.*

repete superiora: 'go back to a more remote period'; see *Fat.* § 35 cited below on § 75. For Tubulus see I 64. He was praetor B.C. 142.

posteriora: we find the opposition of *sup.* and *post.* in regard to a not much longer interval in *Brut.* 226—228, and to a much shorter in *Dom.* 99.

Peducaea: three of the Vestal Virgins were accused *incesti* before the pontiffs in B.C. 114, but only one was condemned. In the next year Sex. Peducaeus trib. pl. brought the matter before the people, by whom L. Cassius Longinus, known for his severity as censor, was appointed to examine further into the case. The mischief was discovered to be even wider spread than was supposed, and all who were guilty were punished. The Sibylline books were consulted and two Greeks and two Gauls were buried alive in the forum to avert the anger of the gods (Plut. *Qu. Rom.* p. 284). A temple was also dedicated to *Venus Verticordia* (Preller *R. M.* p. 392, Val. Max. VIII 15 § 12), cf. Ascon. *in Milon.* p. 46, *Brut.* 160, Dio Cass. fr. 92. *Rogatione* is Abl. of Manner after *quaestiones* understood from above.

tum haec cotidiana: Forchhammer p. 24 puts a full stop after *Peducaea*, and retaining the old reading *venena* (as Allen also does) he supplies *sunt* with *cotidiana*, just as with *inde illa actio* below. He justly asks *quis unquam dixit quaestionem sicae sive de sica esse habitam? Quaestio est inter sicarios sive de sicariis, ut de veneficiis;* and compares *Off.* III 36 *hinc sicae, hinc venena, hinc falsa testimonia nascuntur, hinc furta, peculatus.* We have the same list of crimes in *Off.* III 73 *neque enim de sicariis, veneficis, testamentariis, furibus, peculatoribus, hoc loco disserendum est.* If any emendation is required, I should prefer to read *sicas.*

peculatus: 'the embezzlement of public money'. [The *quaestio peculatus* is referred to by Cicero in *Clu.* 53 § 147, *Mur.* 20 § 42; but the precise definition of the crime is only known to us at a later period. The Digest (XLVIII 13) treats of it in connexion with a law of Augustus (*lex Julia*), which however Zumpt (*Criminalrecht* IV p. 78 seq.) reasonably argues was probably not very different from Sulla's legislation. R.]

testamentorum quaestiones: by the *Lex Cornelia testamentaria* or *de falsis*, forgery was made the subject of one of the nine *perpetuae quaestiones* (permanent courts), *peculatus* and *de sicariis* being also included in the number. It is therefore curious that *lege nova quaestiones* should be limited to *testamentorum*, because all these Cornelian Laws were passed about the year 78 B.C., i.e. about two years before the date of the dialogue, which, as we have seen, is supposed to have occurred between B.C. 77 and 75 (Vol. I p. XLI). Probably C. meant to continue his list, but *testamenta* could not stand like *sicae* for the crime, and therefore he altered the phrase, intending *quaestiones* to refer to all, though grammatically it can only refer to the last named. It is in reference to this law that Cicero says (*Verr.* I 108) *sancitur ut, quod semper malum facinus fuerit, ejus quaestio ad populum pertineat.* Perhaps however it may be better to take *quaestiones*

in its more general sense, as above *alias quaestiones;* and then *etiam lege nova* will give point to the preceding *cotidiana*, 'they are of such daily occurrence that we have been obliged to make a new law about them'.

illa actio: sc. *furti*, of which Gaius gives the formulae IV 37, cf. also III 202 *interdum furti tenetur qui ipse furtum non fecerit; qualis est cujus ope consilio furtum factum est.* Cic. cites this because of the word *consilium*, which evidently proceeds *inde*, 'from reason'. [An action for theft (*furti*) lay against one who had aided and counselled, though he had not actually committed, the theft, e.g. (to take instances given by Gaius III 202) against one who knocked money out of a man's hand that another might take it, or frightened sheep that another might intercept them; or who knowingly placed a ladder to enable a thief to get access or lent him tools to break open a door or box (*Dig.* XLVII 2. l 55 § 4; *Inst.* IV 1 § 11). Either aid or counsel would found the charge, but the aid must be purposed, and the counsel must result in action. *Post veterum auctoritatem eo perventum est ut nemo ope videatur fecisse nisi et consilium malignum habuerit; nec consilium habuisse noceat nisi et factum secutum fuerit* (Paul. ap. *Dig.* L 16. l 53 § 2). By *veteres* were meant the republican jurists. R.] See Mayor on Juv. X 222.

de fide mala: "this is the class of which the following are examples; cf. *Off.* III 70, where we have the same extension of the formula *ex fide bona.* (*Scaevola*) *fidei bonae nomen existimabat manare latissime, idque versari in tutelis, societatibus, fiduciis, mandatis, rebus emptis venditis, conductis locatis*" Sch. [All C.'s examples are expressly named among *bonae fidei judicia* in Gai. IV 62. R.]

tutelae: [a ward had a right of action against his guardian to obtain compensation for any failure in his duty as trustee. This is called in the Digest *actio tutelae.* But there was another action, of a penal character, to make the guardian refund twice the value of anything which he had abstracted from the property of the ward. This action was given by the XII tables (ib. XXVI 7. l 55 § 1) and was specially called *rationibus distrahendis actio* (*Dig.* XXVII 3. l 2). Whether the two were clearly distinguished in Cicero's time may be doubtful. Both then and afterwards any guardian condemned in an *actio tutelae* was disgraced and therefore deprived of civic rights. Cf. Cic. *Or.* I 36 § 166 *turpi tutelae judicio;* Gai. IV § 182; *Lex Jul. Municip.* § 25, 110; *Dig.* III 2. l 1. It is noticeable that in the order of matters in Julian's edict theft immediately followed guardianship. R.]

mandati: [by *mandatum* was understood an unpaid commission. A man undertaking such a commission for another was in the position of a trustee: he could recover his expenses but had no right to make any profit or benefit for himself by the execution of the commission. Good faith was of the essence of the engagement. Cf. Gai. III 155 *Invicem alteri tenebimur in id quod vel me tibi vel te mihi bona fide praestare oportet; Dig.* XVII 1. R.]

pro socio: [Partnership again is a confidential relation. Whether it exist in relation to some one matter or business or be extended over all the concerns of the partners, it rests on a community of profit and loss; and any partner has an action in that character (*pro socio*) to compel his partners to account for their profits or share his losses. Cicero's words in *Rosc. Com.* 6 § 6 are very apt, *si qua sunt privata judicia summae existimationis et paene dicam capitis, tria haec sunt, fiduciae, tutelae, societatis. Aeque enim perfidiosum et nefarium est fidem frangere, quae continet vitam, et pupillum fraudare qui in tutelam pervenit et socium fallere qui se in negotio conjunxit.* R.]

fiduciae: [*Fiducia* 'trust' was a general term but specially applied to cases where a person was given for a special purpose legal rights over persons or things, which in form were permanent but were intended to be only temporary. Thus things deposited with a friend for safe keeping were sometimes legally conveyed to him. Land or other things given to a person as security for a debt were formally conveyed to him in full property (as in our mortgage deeds) with the understanding embodied in a *pactum fiduciae*, that on the payment of the debt the land &c. should be restored. So Cic. *Flac.* 21 § 51 *pecuniam adulescentulo grandi fenore fiducia tamen accepta occupavisti. Hanc fiduciam commissam tibi dicis; tenes hodie ac possides.* 'You lent money to the youth at a high rate of interest but took a mortgage (i.e. some property in mortgage) for it. This mortgaged property you say is forfeited to you'. Cf. Paul. *Sent.* 13; Gai. II 60. A third use of *fiducia* was in the old forms for enabling a woman to change her guardian or make a will. She passed into the absolute control of some one, who however was under a trust to emancipate her (Gai. I § 115). A fourth case was that of trusts by will where the trustee was called *fiduciarius heres* &c. (*Dig.* XXXVI 1. 1 48) though in Justinian's books the term is rare. R.]

reliqua: so *alia*, at the end of a list without connecting particle, above § 52.

judicium publicum: a case in which an injury was considered to be done to the public, and in which therefore any one might proceed against the offender, cf. *Inst.* I 26 § 3.

Plaetoria: the name in the MSS is *Laetoria*, which Heind. corrected in accordance with the *Tabula Heracliensis*, (*Lex Julia Municipalis* 25 § 110). [Comparing *Off.* III 61 *iste dolus malus et legibus erat vindicatus, ut in tutela duodecim tabulis, circumscriptio adulescentium lege Plaetoria, et sine lege judiciis, in quibus additur 'ex fide bona'*; Sueton. ap. Prisc. VIII § 21; Capitol. *M. Anton.* 10 § 12; *Cod. Theodos.* VIII 12. 1 2, we may conclude that the law was directed against money-lenders taking advantage of young men; that it allowed or required *curatores* to be assigned to youths after the age of puberty and consequently when they ceased to have legal guardians; that the offence of cheating young men was regarded as criminal and not merely as matter for private compensation; and that

consequently convicted offenders were ineligible for public office. Further there seems little doubt that this law is referred to in Plaut. *Pseudol.* 201 where a young man in want of money says *Perii: annorum lex me perdit quinavicenaria; metuont credere omnes;* and *Rud.* 1380. If this be so, it was the *lex Plaetoria* that established the distinction between those under 25 years of age (*minores*) and those over that age, the former having *curatores*. The *Pseudolus* is shown by Ritschl (*Parerg. Pl.* p. 295) to have been exhibited in 192 or 191 B.C. And hence the *lex Plaetoria* was probably *cir.* 200 years B.C. This is the sum of our knowledge. Savigny *Verm. Schr.* II p. 321 foll. has an interesting essay on the subject. R.] See Mayor on Juv. X 223, XV 135, and Orelli *Ind. Leg.* p. 231. [Cohen *Méd. Consul.* p. 250 contains exx. of coins of the Plaetorian family. Swainson.]

everriculum: 'C. Aquillius Gallus sweeps off every kind of fraud into his net'. The word is used metaphorically of the avarice of Verres (2 *Verr.* IV 53). On Aquil. see Roby *Introd. to Digest* p. cix. He was a colleague of Cic. in the praetorship B.C. 66, and is much praised in the orations *pro Quintio*, and *Caecina* 77. On the edict here referred to see *Off.* III 60 *nondum C. Aquillius collega et familiaris meus protulerat de dolo malo formulas: in quibus ipsis, cum ex eo quaereretur quid esset dolus malus, respondebat, cum esset aliud simulatum aliud actum.* [Probably Aquillius, as praetor, first granted a right of action or a defensive plea on the ground of fraud, though not coming under any formula previously recognized. In the later consolidated edict, as quoted in the *Digest* IV 3, an action *de dolo malo* was granted when fraud was alleged and no other action was available (*quae dolo malo facta esse dicentur, si de his alia actio non erit et justa causa esse videbitur, judicium dabo*). R.]

familiaris noster: he was a pupil of Q. Mucius along with Balbus, as well as a friend of Cicero's.

protulit: published as an edict in the *Album Praetoris*, stating the grounds of actions and the mode of procedure.

teneri: 'to be proved' (clenched); used here of the charge, as in *Cluent.* 125 *nec ullo argumento Cluentianae pecuniae crimen tenebitur*, 2 *Verr.* V 101 *certis testibus istius audacia tenebatur* (this use is not noticed in Lexx.); but more frequently of the person convicted of a crime; e.g. *tenetur furti.*

§ 75. **sementim**: cf. Att. IX 8 *sem. proscriptionis*, and the proverb *Orat.* II 261 *ut sementem feceris ita metes.* [Amm. XXXI 2. 1 *sem. exitii.* J. E. B. M.]

malitia: cf. *Off.* II 10 *versutos homines et callidos admirantes malitiam sapientiam judicant;* III 71 *quocirca astutiae tollendae sunt eaque malitia, quae vult illa quidem videri se esse prudentiam, sed abest ab ea distatque plurimum; Tusc.* IV 34 *virtutis contraria est vitiositas—sic enim malo quam malitiam appellare eam quam Graeci κακίαν appellant, nam malitia certi cujusdam vitii nomen est, vitiositas omnium*, also *Fin.* III 39, 40, *Leg.* I 49.

utinam—trabes: the opening lines of Ennius' *Medea*, cited also in *Herenn.* II 22 § 34, *Cael.* 18 (referring to the evil arising from the passion of Clodia for his client), *Invent.* I 91, *Top.* 61, *Fin.* I 5, *Fat.* 35 (where he continues *licuit vel altius* '*Utinam ne in Pelio nata ulla umquam esset arbor*', *etiam supra* '*Utinam ne esset mons ullus Pelius*', *similiterque superiora repetentem regredi infinite licet*).

caesa accedisset—trabes: the MSS have the Pl. but most editors follow the reading given in Varro *L. L.* VII 33 (who adds *sic dictum est a quibusdam, ut una canes, una trabes*), and Priscian VII 8. For the use of *accid.* cf. Varr. ap. Non. p. 494 *trabs in humum accidens frangit ramos cadens.*

bonitatem: 'given for purposes of deception not of upright dealing'. The word has two shades of meaning, like our 'goodness', (1) amiability, (2) honesty; of which latter we have an example in *Off.* III 77 *cum fidem alicujus bonitatemque laudant*, '*dignum esse*' *aiunt* '*quicum in tenebris mices*'. Cicero speaking in his own person takes the opposite and truer view of the relation between virtue and reason; *Off.* I 50 (in the case of beasts) *justitiam, aequitatem, bonitatem non dicimus; sunt enim rationis et orationis expertes.*

Da (6). *You say 'it is all man's fault for misusing his reason', but what are we to think of a Being who deliberately endowed him with a faculty, which he knew would be productive of more harm than good?* §§ 76—78.

Ch. XXXI § 76. **sed urgetis**: cf. above ch. XXVIII.

hominum culpam: cf. *Odyss.* I 32 ὢ πόποι, οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται, ἐξ ἡμῶν γάρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν, Plato *Rep.* X 617 αἰτία ἑλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, Chrysipp. ap. Gell. VII 2 § 12 διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων εἴρηται· γνώσει δ' ἀνθρώπους αὐθαίρετα πήματ' ἔχοντας, ὡς τῶν βλαβῶν ἑκάστοις παρ' αὐτοῖς (should this be αὐτούς, 'all along of themselves'?) γινομένων καὶ καθ' ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ἁμαρτανόντων τε καὶ βλαπτομένων καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν καὶ θέσιν, Senec. *N. Q.* V 18 § 5 *non ideo non sunt ista natura bona, si vitio male utentium nocent*, ib. § 13 *non queri possumus de auctore nostri deo, si beneficia ejus corrupimus et, ut essent contraria, effecimus*, ib. § 15 *nihil invenies tam manifestae utilitatis, quod non in contrarium transeat culpa*, Aug. *C. D.* XXII 1, Zeller IV p. 175.

ut si: 'therein behaving as if'. This is part of Cotta's reply; 'you say it is all the fault, not of the Divine operator, but of the human material operated upon; which is just as if the physician or pilot were to plead the severity of the disease or the storm as an excuse for their inefficiency'.

medicus: cf. above § 15 and II 12, where the same illustration is used in reference to the science of divination.

etsi—liberius: 'though such a comparison is absurd', lit. 'though these are mere men—still even as such they act absurdly; for who would have employed them, if it were not for the difficulties to be overcome?—and we may speak more freely (we have no similar weaknesses to allow for) in pleading against God', since he cannot shelter himself under the excuse of ignorance or inability. The form of the sentence is altered owing to the parenthesis; we should have expected *deus falli non potest* or something of the sort. For the argument see below § 90.

homunculi: cf. *Acad.* II 134 *deus ille, qui nihil censuit deesse virtuti, homuncio hic, N. D.* I 123 *ut homunculi similem deum fingeret.*

ais: addressing the Deity, cf. *Acad.* II 80.

dedisses: 'you ought to have given it'. This is an instance of what is known as the Jussive use of the Subjunctive, thus defined by Madv. § 351 a 4, 'in the imperfect and pluperfect the subjunctive is used to express advice or command, imperatively, of a thing which ought to have been done, in opposition to a previous intimation of what actually was done'; see also his n. on *Fin.* II 35, Zumpt § 529 n., Kennedy p. 340, Roby § 1604, Draeg. §§ 148, 149, Nägelsb. p. 267, Allen, Wyttenbach and Lescaloperius on this passage; and compare *Q. Frat.* III 4 *aiunt nonnulli...me oportuisse accusare. Iis ergo judicibus committerem?...non existimo te putare id mihi suscipiendum fuisse. Alterutrum, inquit idem Sallustius, defendisses* (which Manutius calls *elegans et antiqua locutio pro eo quod vulgo dicunt, defendere debebas*); *Off.* III 88 *male Curio, cum causam aequam esse dicebat, semper addebat 'vincat utilitas'. Potius doceret non esse aequam quia non esset utilis rei publicae, quam, cum utilem non esse diceret, esse aequam fateretur*, where Holden calls *doceret* 'a past imperative'; *Orat.* I 167 *quod cum impetrasset, causa caderet*, of which Wilkins says "a kind of past imperative 'he ought to have lost his case'" (the jussive force is not however absolutely required here); *Philipp.* II 86 *misericordiam captabas ...quid petens? ut servires? tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixeras...ut facile servires* (where Mayor refers to Halm on *Sulla* 25, Wagner on Virg. *Aen.* IV 679, Nacke on Valer. Cato p. 161); *Philipp.* II 75 *quem erat aequissimum contra Cn. Pompeii liberos pugnare? quem? an cum tu... convomeres, Dolabella pro te dimicaret?* 'was he to be fighting for you?' *Sest.* 45 *restitisses, oppugnasses, mortem pugnans oppetisses*, where Halm's note is *dictum pro 'resistere debuisti'*; ib. 54 *si meis incommodis laetabantur, urbis tamen periculo commoverentur; Fin.* IV 57 *saltem aliquid de pondere detraxisset et paulo minoris aestumavisset ea; Rosc. Am.* 72 *diligentius venisses*, which Halm renders 'hättest kommen sollen'; *Verr.* III 19 *Voconia lex te videlicet delectabat; imitatus esses illum ipsum C. Voconium*; ib. V 59 *quo tempore...etiam si precario essent rogandi, tamen ab iis impetraretur* (=*impetrari debebat* Halm, who is however mistaken, as Draeger has pointed out, in comparing §§ 150 *permoverem*, 171 *commoverentur*, where the ordinary force of the Subj. gives a satisfactory meaning); *Rabir. Post.* 29 *moreretur, inquies;* Liv. XLV 37 § 3 *non triumphum impedire debuit...sed*

postero die nomen deferret. Other exx. may be found in the books referred to; I will here only add for the negative sentence, *Verr.* III 195 *quid facere debuisti?...si, ut ambitiosi homines,...ex senatus aestimatione solvisses: sin, ut plerique faciunt...ne emisses; Att.* II 1 § 3 *aut ne poposcisses*, Plaut. *Poen.* I 5. 22 *vel tu ne faceres tale in adulescentia; Trinumm.* 134 *non ego illi argentum redderem? non redderes*, where Brix says '*non* statt *ne*, so dass die Antwort, der Frage eng angepasst, wie ein Echo zurücktönt'. [So we find both *non* and *ne* after *utinam*, cf. *Att.* IX 9 § 3 *utinam susceptus non essem aut ne quid ex eadem matre postea natum esset.*] A comparison of these passages shows plainly that the Subjunctive may have the force of *debebat.* This use has been generally connected with the Imperative force of the Subj., thus accounting for the employment of *ne* for *non*, but such an explanation has been challenged of late by two distinguished Cambridge scholars on the ground that 'a past imperative is an inconceivable thing'. I presume that those who used the phrase 'past imperative', simply meant that the Subjunctive in this use stands to the Imperative, as the phrase 'you should not have done that' stands to the phrase 'you should not do that'. Whether we choose to speak of these as different tenses of the Imperative, is a verbal question of no great importance: if we confine the Imperative to commands which are capable of fulfilment, of course we must select another name. The alternative explanation offered by Mr Reid (*Sulla* § 25 p. 96) is as follows: "so-called 'jussive subjunctives' are merely parts of elliptic conditional propositions"; "the fact that *ne* occurs with some of these subjunctives has led some scholars to regard them as conveying commands or prohibitions put in past tenses, because the circumstances to which they might have applied are past...but *ne* is merely equivalent to *non*, as *ne* often was in early Latin". Mr Reid is commenting here on the words *ac si, judices, ceteris patriciis me et vos peregrinos videri oporteret, a Torquato tamen hoc vitium sileretur...est enim municipalis*, which I understand to mean 'whatever right other patricians might have to dub us foreigners, Torquatus at least ought to have kept silence on this defect in our citizenship, being, as he is, himself connected with a *municipium* only'. Mr Reid's note is "editors explain *sileretur* as equivalent to *sileri debebat*, but the subjunctive in Latin has no such force"..."*sileretur* is not the true apodosis to the protasis *si oporteret*, but is rather the apodosis to a suppressed protasis such as *si caperet.* So with Virgil's famous words *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres*". I confess I cannot quite make out what is meant by this; but we may compare another note by the same scholar on *Acad.* II 53 p. 169 ed. 1 *illud attendimus in hoc omni genere quam inconstanter loquamur? non enim proferremus vino aut somno oppressos*, rendered in his translation p. 52 'are we aware how inconsistent is our talk concerning this entire class of arguments? If we were, we should not quote men overpowered by wine or sleep &c.' That is to say, it is an instance of an ordinary hypothetical sentence, *si attenderemus* being naturally understood

from what precedes. But in his note Mr Reid says "this must apparently be added to the exx. of the subj. used to denote *non id quod fieret factumve esset, sed quod fieri debuerit.* As such passages are often misunderstood, I note that they can be most rationally explained as elliptic constructions in which a condition is expressed without its consequence. We have an exact parallel in English; e.g. *tu dictis, Albane, maneres* may fairly be translated 'hadst thou but kept to thy word'. Here the condition 'if thou hadst kept' stands without the consequence 'thou wouldest not have died'". It is to be noted that in his comments on these two passages Mr Reid gives inconsistent explanations of the quotation from Virgil: in the one place speaking of the protasis being understood (I suppose, 'if you had known it beforehand, you would have kept to your word'), in the other, of the apodosis. Probably we are to understand that he would make two classes of jussive subjunctives, those in which the apodosis, and those in which the protasis is to be supplied, and that he would distribute the cases under either head as he found it easiest to supply one or the other. Mr Nixon (*J. of Phil.* vol. VII p. 57) says "it is not denied that there is an important class of so-called 'jussive' subjunctives, but of these those with *ne* are intelligible imperatives (*ne poposcisses*) [on a subsequent page this concession is withdrawn], those with *non* can always be explained as hypothetical with or without protasis suppressed". It appears then that there are three points for consideration: (1) is *ne* to be regarded merely as equivalent to *non?* (2) is it the fact that the Latin Subjunctive cannot mean 'ought'? (3) is it possible to explain all 'jussives' as parts of elliptic conditional propositions? As to (1), no doubt there are compounds and phrases such as *nefas, nequaquam*, in which *ne* retains its old simple force, but I think we may safely assume that if *ne* continued to be used with some one particular construction, however much the words were varied, it must have been because it was felt that there was something in that construction which suited the later specialized use of *ne*. And whether, or not, we employ the phrase 'past imperative' it cannot be denied that the use of *ne* in such a phrase as *ne poposcisses* approaches more or less nearly to the use of *ne* to express a wish (as in *di ne dedissent* above § 75), or a command. (2) It appears to me that the feeling of the Latin writers as to the meaning of the Jussive Subj. is sufficiently shown, by its being frequently opposed to *debeo* and similar words, cf. the instances cited above from *Q. Fr.* III 4, *Philipp.* II 75, Liv. XLV 37, *Verr.* III 195, *Sulla* 25, *Fin.* II 35 *si eam quam Aristippus (voluptatem dixisset), idem tenere debuit ultimum bonorum; sin eam quam Hieronymus, fecisset*, &c., where Madvig says *id est, facere debuit;* also that we find the same meaning in other uses of the Subj. esp. in what is known as the 'Deliberative' use, with which the Jussive is coupled in *Trin.* 134, cf. *Merc.* 633 *quid ego facerem?* CH. *quid tu faceres, men' rogas? requaereres, rogitares quis esset*, Ter. *Hec.* 341 *non visam uxorem Pamphili? ...ne mittas quidem visendi causa quemquam.* Again does not the fact that, in conditional sentences (in the secondary as well as in the primary

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tenses), verbs such as *possum, debeo, oportet* are used in the Indicative in the apodosis, where the Subj. is used in the protasis, does not this indicate that these quasi-auxiliary verbs were felt to take the place of the Subjunctive mood; in other words that the force of the Subj. was felt to be expressed by these auxiliaries? see Boetticher's *Lex. Tac.* p. 106 (on the pregnant force of the Conjunctive) and Nägelsb. p. 267. Lastly, is it true that this Jussive force is confined to conditional or quasi-conditional sentences, as asserted by Mr Reid and Mr Nixon and apparently by Madv. *Fin.* II 35 (where he speaks of it as a particular use of the conjunctive *quod post condicionem, sive ea verbis expressa est sive intellegitur, ponitur ad significandum id quod fieri debuerit*)? If we are right in connecting this use with the Deliberative and Optative uses, there seems no *a priori* reason for limiting it to the conditional sentence, and certainly there is nothing to suggest it *a posteriori.* It would at any rate require a remarkable power of special pleading to explain as conditional sentences all the exx. cited above. Even, if we should allow that the Jussive originated in an ejaculatory hypothesis, yet such an ejaculatory use is itself closely connected with the other recognized uses of the Subj., all springing from the root conception of the mood as expressive of *thought* in contrast to *fact;* and in any case this particular use has outgrown its origin and established its right to be treated as an independent off-shoot of the root, just as much as the Imperative, Deliberative and Optative uses. I will only add that two other exx. of this use are generally cited from the *N. D.*, *sumpsisses tuo jure* I 89, and *quid enim dedissent* III 71. I have not treated them as such myself, because I thought them capable of another explanation, but I am far from denying that Cicero and his readers may very probably have understood them with what we know as a 'jussive' force. [I think those who object to the so-called jussive use of the subjunctive have failed to see that the ground of objection is applicable to a number of other uses which no one could think of disputing. *Faciat, ne faciat, ne feceris* in the usual imperative meaning: *faciat, fecerit, fecisset* in the concessive uses; *moriar, morerer* in optative uses; *quid agam? quid agerem?* in so-called dubitative uses; the whole class of subjunctives of purpose (as distinguished from subjunctives of result) including such uses as *mitto ut* (or *qui*) *faciat, postulo faciat, censeo facias*, &c., all exhibit a jussive meaning (see my Grammar ch. XXI), and I can see no reason in objecting to treat as such the verbs in *At tu dictis, Albane, maneres!* or in *Quid tibi cum pelago? terra contenta fuisses* (Ov. *Am.* III 8. 49). But neither could I assert that here, as elsewhere, there are not more ways than one of taking particular expressions. The original subjective force of the subjunctive mood was gradually specialised in various directions, one phrase or class of phrases being developed by analogy to some other. Whether this jussive use was developed from the protasis of a conditional sentence by suppressing the apodosis, or from the apodosis by suppressing the protasis, is impossible to say. It may well have been a collateral to,

not a descendant of, either. Grammatical as well as lexicographical developments are often curiously restricted to particular phrases or classes of expression. And what would be unintelligible or unbearable in ordinary writing or speaking may be boldly and judiciously ventured on when the emotions or imagination are excited; just as on the other hand the familiarities of conversation assisted by looks and gestures render possible many turns of language which would fail in different circumstances. A writer in quiet, unimpassioned prose would scarcely use *maneres* for *manere debebas*, if he wished to be quickly and certainly apprehended; but that is no objection to such a use by Vergil, who was continually making experiments. R.]

ubi igitur locus: the *igitur* refers to the general argument, not to the immediately preceding clause: 'you say, the fact that men misuse their reason, is not inconsistent with benevolent intention on the part of the Gods who bestowed reason on man, any more than an heir's misuse of a legacy is inconsistent with benevolence on the part of the testator: where then is there room for mistake on the part of the Gods? the testator may be deceived in his expectations, but God cannot be deceived'. On *patrimonia* see above § 70.

an ut Sol: abbreviated for *an falli potuit, ut Sol fallebatur?*

Phaethontem: see the story in Ovid *Met.* bk. II, and compare *Off.* III 94 *Sol Phaethonti filio...facturum se esse dixit quicquid optasset. Optavit ut in currum patris tolleretur: sublatus est; atque is, antequam constitit, ictu fulminis deflagravit. Quanto melius fuerat in hoc promissum patris non esse servatum. Quid? quod Theseus exegit promissum a Neptuno? Cui cum tres optationes Neptunus dedisset, optavit interitum Hippolyti filii, cum is patri suspectus esset de noverca; quo optato impetrato Theseus in maximis fuit luctibus*; ib. I 32, *N. D.* III 45, and the *Hippolytus* of Euripides.

cum—perdidit, cum—habuisset: combination of Temporal and Causal uses, 'at the time when Th. caused his son's death, owing to the power received from Neptune'.

§ 77. **di poetici**: see above on I 61, and compare Aug. *C. D.* IV 27, VI 5 foll.

scissent: Quintilian (I 6 § 17) speaks of the form *scivisse* as unusual; and so Cic. *Orat.* 157 (in regard to *nosse* and *novisse*) *quasi vero nesciamus in hoc genere et plenum verbum recte dici et imminutum usitate.*

si verum est: Ba. after Madv. reads *esset* on account of the following *praestaret*, but the anacoluthon is easily explained by the length of the sentence and by the change of tense in the repeated form of the protasis (*si essent discessuri*). Moreover it is paralleled by the following sentence, *si convertunt, non dari—melius fuit.*

Aristo: cf. I 37.

[**audientibus**: used substantively like *discens*, Plin. *Ep.* III 18 § 8 n. The technical term in the schools for a disciple was *auditor* ἀκουστής, see Juv. I 1 n. J. E. B. M.]

asotos ex Aristippi: this saying is attributed to Zeno by Antigonus Carystius ap. Athen. XIII 19 p. 365. [*Asotus* is also cited from *Fin.*, *asotia* from Gell.; add for latter Macrob. *Sat.* VI 4 § 22. J. E. B. M.]

si qui audierunt—interpretarentur: bracketed by Ba. after Madv. (1) on account of the tautology, (2) because of the distance separating *prorsus* from *praestaret*. But as regards (2) we have an example of *prorsus* heading the clause, at some distance from its verb, in *Rosc. Am.* 59 *prorsus ut vestro consessu et hoc conventu pro summa solitudine abuteretur*; and for the repetition of the protasis Sch. refers to Madv. himself on *Fin.* I 7.

philosophos: this emendation by Lambinus is evidently right. It is not the interest of philosophers, but the abstract better, which is in question. The Dat. of MSS would be suggested by the other meaning of *praestaret* and the following *iis*.

qui se audissent: for the use of the Reflexive in reference to a remoter subject, see Index.

§ 78. **si convertunt, melius fuit**: 'if as a fact they do now abuse it, it would have been originally better not to give it'. The mood and tense here are in favour of the reading *si est verum* above.

ut si medicus: see above § 69.

meracius: used metaphorically by Cic. *R. P.* I 66 *nimis meracam libertatem hauserit*. [The comparative is also found in Aug. *C. D.* I 30. J. E. B. M.]

vestra: 'of you Stoics', cf. I 50 *Balbe soletis*.

utinam quidem: cf. *Sulla* 54 *utinam quidem—satisfacere posset*; Nepos *Eum.* 11 § 5 *utinam quidem istud evenisset*; and for the elliptical use *Att.* XIII 48 *quod utinam, iterum utinam! tuo tamen commodo*; *Orat.* II 361 *habetis sermonem hominis, utinam non impudentis*. [Plin. *Ep.* V 8 § 7 *potes ...utinam*. J. E. B. M.]

quanti ejus nomen: 'how highly you esteem her name' (*providentia*, which excludes the possibility of ignorance).

Db. *If lack of wisdom is the greatest of evils and all men lack wisdom, how can it be said that man is specially favoured by Heaven?* § 79.

Ch. XXXII § 79. **stultitia—malum**: see I 23 n. So even Epicurus *nemo stultus non miser Fin.* I 59, and more strongly *Tusc.* II 17.

et fortunae et corporis: on this classification see *Fin.* III 43 *cum tria genera bonorum sint, quae sententia est Peripateticorum*; *Tusc.* V 85 *tria genera bonorum, maxima animi, secunda corporis, externa tertia, ut Peripatetici, nec multo veteres Academici secus*; *Tusc.* V 22 *mihi quidem non videbatur quisquam esse beatus posse, cum in malis esset; in malis autem sapientem esse posse, si essent ulla corporis aut fortunae mala*; ib. § 23 *cum vero tria genera malorum esse dicant, qui duorum generum malis omnibus urgeatur, ut omnia adversa sint in fortuna, omnibus oppressum corpus et*

confectum doloribus, huic paulumne ad beatam vitam deesse dicemus? and § 25. Aristotle gives the same classification and speaks of it as ancient and accepted by philosophers, *Eth.* I 8 νενεμημένων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τριχῇ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐκτὸς λεγομένων τῶν δὲ περὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν κυριώτατα λέγομεν καὶ μάλιστα ἀγαθά, cf. Reid *Acad.* I 19.

sapientiam nemo assequitur: *Tusc.* II 51 *in quo vero erit perfecta sapientia, quem adhuc nos quidem vidimus neminem, sed philosophorum sententiis, qualis hic futurus sit, si modo aliquando fuerit, exponitur; Off.* III 16 *nec vero cum duo Decii aut duo Scipiones, fortes viri, commemorantur, aut cum Fabricius justus nominatur, aut ab illis fortitudinis aut ab hoc justitiae, tamquam a sapiente, petitur exemplum: nemo enim horum sic sapiens, ut sapientem volumus intellegi, nec ii qui sapientes habiti et nominati, M. Cato et C. Laelius, sapientes fuerunt; ne illi quidem septem, sed ex mediorum officiorum frequentia similitudinem quandam gerebant speciemque sapientium; Div.* II 61 *si quod raro fit id portentum putandum est, sapientem esse portentum est: saepius enim mulam peperisse arbitror quam sapientem fuisse*, Hirzel *Unters. z. Cic.* II pt. 1 pp. 279 foll. The inconsistency between the Stoic view of human life and the belief in providence is noticed by Plutarch *St. Rep.* c. 31 (Chrysippus affirms) μαίνεσθαι πάντας... ἐπ' ἄκρον ἥκειν δυστυχίας, κακοδαιμονίας ἁπάσης, εἶτα προνοίᾳ θεῶν διακεῖσθαι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἀθλίως πράττοντας. 'What worse could happen to us if it were the aim of the Gods to do us all possible evil?'

in summis malis: such was the original teaching of the Stoics, but the later development of Stoicism took a less pessimistic view of humanity, recognizing an intermediate state, προκοπή 'progress', between folly and wisdom, and intermediate duties, μέσα καθήκοντα '*media officia*'. We read that Chrysippus distinguished three degrees of Progress (Zeller III 1, p. 270 n.) and that Posidonius spoke of Socrates, Diogenes and Antisthenes as being only ἐν προκοπῇ (Diog. L. VII 91).

quibus consultum dicitis: for omission of *esse* cf. § 26 *aedificatum* n.

D c. *If God really cared for men, he ought to have made all men good, or at least to have rewarded the good and punished the bad.* §§ 79—85.

Telamo: the reference is to the so-named tragedy of Ennius, cited in *Div.* II 104 *Ennius, qui magno plausu loquitur assentiente populo 'Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus'. Et quidem, cur sic opinetur, rationem subjicit; sed nihil est necesse dicere quae sequuntur.* The line alluded to is that here quoted, which is also referred to in *Div.* I 132. Telamon is bewailing the death of Ajax, caused, as he believes, by the malice of his enemies and the treachery of Teucer. Cf. Attius l. 142 Ribb. *jam jam neque regunt di neque profecto deum summus rex omnibus curat.*

cur neglegant: brachylogy for *cur neglegere putandi sint*, see n. on III 70 *idcirco consuluit* and Index.

nam si—abest: trochaic tetrameter catalectic. For the thought compare the epigram *marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo, quis putet esse deos?* and the famous lines of Claudian (*Ruf.* I 12) *sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi aspicerem laetosque diu florere nocentes, vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat religio* foll., also *Ps.* 73, *Job* 21, Nägelsb. *N. Theol.* ch. I pp. 40—59, Aristo ap. Theophilus *Autol.* III p. 121 C., Seneca *Provid.* III 4 *Fortuna rectissimum quemque aggreditur adversus quem vim suam intendat;* ib. § 3 *nihil mihi videtur infelicius eo cui nihil mali accidit;* Sext. Emp. *P. H.* III 9—12.

omnes bonos efficere: the difficulty here stated is thus met by Theodore of Mopsuestia (Labbe *Concil.* v p. 449) "Because God knew it to be useful for us or rather for all rational creatures that first there should be an entrance of evils and of what is worse; but that afterwards these should be destroyed and better things be introduced; therefore God divided the creation into two states, the present and the future, in the latter indeed intending to lead all to immortality and immutability, but in the present letting us fall into death and mutability...For otherwise, not knowing the experience of evils, we could not have gained the knowledge of those good things" cited by Owen *Introd. to Dogm. Theol.* p. 214. Similar answers were made by the Stoics, see my *Anc. Phil.* p. 163, Zeller III 1 p. 175, Plut. *Mor.* p. 1067.

D c. (1). *On the contrary we see virtue constantly followed by adversity.* § 80.

§ 80. **Scipiones**: the brothers P. and Cn. defeated and slain in Spain in the year B.C. 212. P. was consul in 218 and, after missing Hannibal in Gaul, had sent on his army to Spain under the command of his brother. Arnold says of this resolution that it 'appears to shew that he possessed the highest qualities of a general, which involve the wisdom of a statesman no less than of a soldier...If the Carthaginians were suffered to consolidate their dominion in Spain, and were to avail themselves of its immense resources, not in money only, but in men, the hardiest and steadiest of barbarians and, under the training of such generals as Hannibal and his brother, equal to the best soldiers in the world, the Romans would hardly have been able to maintain the contest. Had not P. Scipio despatched his army to Spain at this critical moment, instead of carrying it home to Italy, his son in all probability would never have won the battle of Zama'. Cicero often mentions the two brothers as patterns of patriotic devotion, e.g. *Cato* 75 *duos Scipiones qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt; Off.* III 16 cited above on *sapientiam nemo assequitur;* called *duo fulmina nostri imperii* (*Balb.* 34), *duo propugnacula belli Punici* (*Parad.* I 12); cf. *Tusc.* I 89, *R. P.* I 1.

Maximus: Q. Fabius surnamed Cunctator (above II 61). The death of his son is mentioned *Cato* 12 *multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi sed nihil admirabilius quam quo modo ille mortem filii tulit, clari viri et consularis.*

Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? also *Tusc.* III 70.

Marcellum: he fell at Venusia B.C. 208, see on II 61 *Virtutis*.

Paulum: his death is mentioned along with that of Marcellus *Cato* 75, with that of the Scipios ib. 82, and *Tusc.* I 89, see *Div.* II 71.

Reguli: M. Atilius Reg. is the stock example of a good man struggling with adversity, *Tusc.* V 14 *prudentia ipsa hoc videt non omnes bonos esse etiam beatos, multaque de M. Atilio...recordatur;* on the other hand *Fin.* II 65 'virtue declares that Regulus *cum sua voluntate, nulla vi coactus praeter fidem quam dederat hosti, ex patria Karthaginem revertisset, tum ipsum, cum vigiliis et fame cruciaretur*, was more blest than the happy man of the Epicureans'.

domestici parietes: B.C. 129 he was found dead in his bed aged 56, see above II 14, *Milo* 16 *quantum luctum in hac urbe fuisse a patribus nostris accepimus, cum P. Africano domi suae quiescenti illa nocturna vis esset illata!* where the Scholiast says *hic cum Latinorum causam societatis jure contra C. Gracchum triumvirum ejusque collegas perseveranter defensurus esset, ne ager ipsorum divideretur, repentina morte domi suae interceptus est, non sine infamia et ipsius C. Gracchi et uxoris suae Semproniae; R. P.* VI 12 *si impias propinquorum manus effugeris.* Carbo is named as the murderer in *Q. Fr.* II 3 § 3 *Pompeius dixit aperte se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam Africanus fuisset, quem C. Carbo interemisset, Fam.* IX 21 § 3, *Or.* II 170; but nothing was ever proved.

Rutilius Rufus, a friend of Panaetius and Posidonius, served under Scipio in the Numantine war and was *legatus* in Asia under Mucius Scaevola the pontifex, about B.C. 98. By his honesty in repressing extortion he incurred the illwill of the *publicani*, and was condemned on his return to Rome on a false charge *de repetundis*. He is always spoken of as a noble representative of the Roman Stoics, cf. *Scaur.* I 2 *P. Rutilio damnato nemo tam innocens videbatur ut non timeret judicia, quae tunc penes equestrem ordinem erant; Or.* I 229 *cum esset ille vir exemplum innocentiae, cumque illo nemo neque integrior esset in civitate neque sanctior, non modo supplex judicibus esse noluit, sed ne ornatius quidem aut liberius causam dici suam, quam simplex ratio veritatis ferebat* ('like Socrates', as he goes on to say § 231); Cotta, who was his sister's son (*Att.* XII 20, Sen. *Cons. ad Helv.* 16), spoke in his defence; see also *Piso* 95 *major mihi judicum et rei publicae poena illa visa est quam Rutilii*, Seneca *Provid.* 3, *Consol. ad Marc.* 22, Minuc. F. 5. Seneca joins him with Socrates and Cato as one of those who *levi temporis impensa invenerunt quo modo aeterni fierent et ad immortalitatem moriendo venerunt.* Cicero tells us that his dialogue *de R. P.* is a report of what he had himself heard from Rut. when he was in exile at Smyrna, cf. Roby *Introd. to Digest* p. ci.

sodalis meus: Cotta is said to be *Drusi maxime familiaris Or.* I 25. They were both *pontifices*, though not at the same time, Drusus having been murdered in 91 B.C., and Cotta being made *pontifex* in 82.

Drusus: cf. *Milo* 16 *domi suae nobilissimus vir, senatus propugnator atque illis quidem temporibus paene patronus, trib. pl. M. Drusus occisus est; Herenn.* IV 22 § 31 *tuus, O Druse, sanguis domesticos parietes et vultum parentis adspersit;* Vol. I p. xl, Wilkins *Orat.* I Introd. p. 5. No attempt was made to discover who had committed the murder: Cicero (below § 81) charges Varius with it. The reforms proposed by Drusus were (1) the transference of judicial functions from the equites to the Senate enlarged by the addition of 300 equites; (2) a special commission for the purpose of trying any juryman who should be guilty of receiving bribes; (3) distribution of grain to the citizens on a larger scale; (4) colonization of the state domain; (5) extension of the franchise to the Italians. See below on Varius.

simulacrum Vestae: compare, what is to my mind the most beautiful and touching passage in all the works of Cicero, if not in the whole of Latin literature, when we remember the fate of the writer himself, *Orat.* III 1—14. Cicero is there speaking of Crassus as saved by his early death from beholding the evils impending on his friends and on his country: among other things 'he did not see the image of Vesta sprinkled with the blood of his colleague, the pontifex Mucius Scaevola'. This Scaevola is son of P. Mucius Sc. mentioned above I 115, III 5. He is always spoken of with the utmost reverence and affection by Cic., who studied law under him, after the death of his earlier tutor, Q. Mucius Sc. the Augur. Thus in *Lael.* 1 he calls him *unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et justitia praestantissimum.* The thought of Scaevola's end was often before the mind of Cic. in the later Civil war, see *Att.* IX 12 *torqueor infelix, ut jam illum Mucianum exoptem;* ib. 15 *nihil expedio, nisi aut ab hoc* (by a new Marius) *tamquam Q. Mucius, aut ab illo* (by a new Sulla) *tamquam L. Scipio.* "At the funeral of C. Marius, B.C. 86, C. Flavius Fimbria, one of his violent adherents, endeavoured to have Scaevola assassinated. He was wounded, but not fatally; whereupon Fimbria gave him notice of trial, and the charge being asked declared that it was for having only half received the thrust of the dagger (*Rosc. Am.* 33). Four years later the Marians effected their object. In B.C. 82 Damasippus, on instructions from the younger Marius, then shut up in Praeneste by Sulla, attacked and killed Scaevola before the statue of Vesta" (which stood in the vestibule of the famous circular temple of Vesta, see Burn *Rome* p. 102 foll.), "or as some say in or near the *Curia Hostilia*" (Roby *Digest* p. cv foll.).

a Cinna: the orator Antonius and Catulus were among the victims in the massacre which followed the return of the elder Marius to Rome, B.C. 87, after Sulla's departure for Greece, see *Tusc.* V 55 *Cinna collegae sui, consulis Cn. Octavii, praecidi caput jussit, P. Crassi, L. Caesaris, nobilissimorum hominum, quorum virtus fuerat domi militiaeque cognita, M. Antonii, omnium eloquentissimi, quos ego audierim, C. Caesaris, in quo mihi videtur specimen fuisse humanitatis, salis, suavitatis, leporis* foll., *Cat.* III 24, Vell. Pat. II 22, Aug. *C. D.* III 27.

Marius: Cic. was proud of him as an Arpinate and *novus homo*, and often praises him in the highest terms, see *Rabir.* 27, *Balb.* 46, *Verr.* V 25, *Sest.* 37, *Parad.* 16: he even wrote a poem on his achievements *Leg.* I 2; in *Tusc.* V 56 however he speaks of his cruelty to Catulus as blotting out all his former glories. See on the latter I 79 n.

D c. (2). *Vice is in like manner rewarded by prosperity, as in the case of tyrants, like Dionysius. If some come to a bad end at last, this is no equivalent for all the suffering they have caused.* §§ 81—84.

§ 81. **dies deficiat**: so *Tusc.* V 102 *dies deficiat, si velim paupertatis causam defendere*, *Cael.* 29 *dies jam me deficiat si coner expromere*, *Verr.* II 52 *nam me dies vox latera deficiant, si hoc nunc vociferari velim*, *Rosc. Am.* 89 *tempus te citius quam oratio deficeret.*

crudelissimus Cinna regnavit: he was consul for four years together from B.C. 87 to 84; cf. *Philipp.* XI 1 *Cinna, Sulla, Caesar, hi tres post civitatem a L. Bruto liberatam plus potuerunt quam universa res publica;* and, for the phrase, *Lael.* 41 (of Tib. Gracchus) *regnum occupare conatus est, vel potius regnavit is quidem paucos menses;* so Clodius of Cic. himself (*Att.* XVI 10) *quousque hunc regem feremus?* cf. Sall. *fr. inc.* 52 Kritz, *tyrannumque et Cinnam maxima voce appellans.* In *Phil.* XI 1 Cicero, comparing Marius, Sulla and Cinna, makes cruelty the distinguishing characteristic of the last.

dedit poenas: he was killed in a mutiny at Brundisium, whilst endeavouring to induce his soldiers to cross over to Greece against Sulla (Appian *B. C.* I 78, Liv. *Epit.* 83).

Ch. XXXIII. **Varius**: son of a Spanish woman, and hence called *Hybrida*, offered himself as a tool to the *equites* in their struggle against Drusus, and proposed a law *de majestate* in his tribuneship (B.C. 91) to punish all who had in any way encouraged the *Socii* to take up arms against Rome; see above Vol. I p. xl, II § 61. Cotta was among those who had to go into exile in consequence. Within two years from his tribuneship Varius was condemned on his own law and sent into exile (*Brut.* 306). We are not informed as to the particulars of his death, nor are we elsewhere told of his poisoning Metellus, i.e. probably Numidicus, the conqueror of Jugurtha, who was recalled from exile in B.C. 99.

importunissimus: the word is properly used, like *importuosus*, of a coast which offers no harbour, as in Ov. *Met.* XIV 481 *quos communis hiemps importunusque Caphareus mersit aquis*, cf. Plaut. *Trin.* II 3. 7 *suae senectuti acriorem hiemem parat, quom illam importunam tempestatem conciet:* from this first sense flow three secondary senses (1) 'unfavorable', 'unseasonable', 'unsuitable', opposed to *opportunus;* (2) 'storm-tost', 'restless', 'troublesome' (hence our 'importunate') as in Hor. *Epist.* I 18. 23 *argenti sitis importuna;* Plaut. *Asin.* I 1. 47 (*uxorem*) *importunam atque incommodam;* and (3) as here, 'threatening', 'dangerous', 'pitiless', 'savage'.

melius fuit: cf. *bellum erat* I 84 and Index under 'Indicative'.

Dionysius: the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse between B.C. 405 and 368, see Grote's *Greece* Ch. lxxxi to lxxxiii.

§ 82. **in ipso flore**: here apparently used of place, answering to *opulentissimae civitatis* before, rather than of time: the 'prime of Greece' would have been a century later. So *Ligar.* 32 *possum totum...agrum Sabinum, florem Italiae, proponere* and *Phil.* III 13 *nec vero de virtute...provinciae Gallicae taceri potest; est enim ille flos Italiae.* Pisistratus ruled Athens from B.C. 560 to 527.

Phalaris: tyrant of Agrigentum from about B.C. 560 to 540. The story of the hollow bull of brass in which he burnt his victims is noticed by Pindar *Pyth.* I fin. The bull was afterwards taken to Carthage and then restored to Agrigentum by Scipio (*Verr.* IV 73). According to Aristotle (*Rhet.* II 20) Stesichorus endeavoured to warn the people of Himera against allowing Phalaris a body guard, by relating the fable of the horse and the stag. Heraclides Ponticus, the pupil of Aristotle, after mentioning the brazen bull and other instruments of torture used by Phalaris, adds ὅνπερ ὁ δῆμος ἐτιμωρήσατο ἐνέπρησε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς φίλους (*Frag. Hist.* II p. 233), cf. Ovid *Ib.* 439 *utque ferox Phalaris, lingua prius ense resecta, more bovis Paphio clausus in aere gemas.* Cicero calls him *crudelissimus omnium tyrannus* (*Verr.* l. c.); cf. *Off.* II 26 *Phalaris cujus est praeter ceteros nobilitata crudelitas*, and *Att.* VII 20 *incertum est Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus Caesar* (i.e. whether he will be mild or cruel).

Apollodorus: tyrant of Cassandria, the ancient Potidaea, about B.C. 280. "After gaining over his fellow-citizens by his profession of an ardent zeal for liberty, he seized the government with the help of a band of conspirators, whom he is said to have pledged in a draught of human blood. It appears that his tyranny was at first exercised only at the expense of the rich and for the benefit of the poor. But it was maintained by a body-guard of Celts, who were the ready instruments of every cruelty; and the possession of absolute power seems to have tempted him to the worst abuse of it" (Thirlwall). He was finally overthrown by Antigonus Gonatas. Plutarch mentions Ap. as an example of punishment inflicted by mental terrors and horrible dreams φασὶν 'Απ. κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁρᾶν ἐκδερόμενον ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν, εἶτα καθεψόμενον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος ὑποφθεγγομένην καὶ λέγουσαν, Ἐγώ σοι τούτων αἰτία· καὶ πάλιν τὰς θυγάτερας διαπύρους καὶ φλεγομένας τοῖς σώμασι κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὸν περιτρεχούσας. Polyaenus IV 6 § 18 calls him φονικώτατος καὶ ὠμότατος τυράννων, and his name is coupled with Phalaris by Polybius VII 7, Ov. *Pont.* II 9. 43, Sen. *Benef.* VII 19 § 5 *quid, si non tantum malus factus est, sed ferus, sed immanis, qualis Apollodorus aut Phalaris?* [cf. *ibid.* § 7, *Ira* II 5 § 1. J. E. B. M.]

sustulit: from *suffero*, cf. Madv. *Opusc.* II 16, Attius *Myrm.* 17 *poenas sufferam*, Cic. *Catil.* II 28 *poenam sui sceleris sufferat*, *Font.* 39 *victoriae poenas sufferre.* I do not know however of any example of the Perf. in this

sense. [Auson. *Sept. Sap. Sent.* (*sept. vers.*) *Thales* 3, *quod facturus eris, dicere sustuleris.* J. E. B. M.] Cobet (*Var. Lect.* p. 463) says *quis sic loquitur? videtur fuisse 'poenas luit'*; and no doubt it is possible that *sustulit* might have arisen from this through a dittographia of the last syllable of *poenas.* L. and S. give the passage both under *suffero* and *tollo*, comparing for the latter 2 *Verr.* III 1 *providere quid oneris tollant;* but *tollant* there means 'take up' not 'endure'.

multis quidem—necatis: cf. n. on *et quidem* I 79, and Madv. *Fin.* I 35, where exx. are given of *quidem* by itself having the same force: so καὶ-γε and γε with Part. to which this is an exact parallel.

et praedones: Ba.'s correction *etiam* is unnecessary. *Et* here has the ironical force of *et quidem*, as in I 79, cf. III 27 *et ego quaero.*

multi saepe: a colloquial pleonasm, for 'we often see pirates punished' or 'we see many pirates punished'. It does not mean that 'many repeatedly suffer'. Compare Plaut. *Capt.* 44 *saepe jam in multis locis* (where see Brix), ib. 325 *multa multis saepe suasit*, ib. 994 *vidi multa saepe picta, Mil. Glor.* III 3. 12 *multos saepe vidi*, Cic. *Off.* I 74 *multi bella saepe quaesiverunt* (where see Gernhard and Allen), ib. III 40 *incidunt multae saepe causae, R. P.* III 42 *multas tu quidem Laeli saepe causas ita defendisti, Red. in Sen.* 15 *non eloquentia, quod in multis saepe accidit, vos decepit, Har. Resp.* 56 *multis saepe optimis civibus accidit, Verr.* III 188 *multos saepe viros bonos*, ib. IV 107 *multa saepe prodigia vim ejus declarant, Cluent.* 195 *multi saepe in judicando peccata concesserunt*, ib. 183 *saepe multorum veritas emergit*, also *Piso* 75, *Flacc.* 86, *Planc.* 50, *Verr.* V 147, *Sest.* 109, *Cluent.* 171, *Catil.* III 23, Hor. *Sat.* I 6. 10, *Epist.* II 1. 219.

Anaxarchus: a philosopher of Abdera, who accompanied Alexander into Asia, and after his death fell into the hands of Nicocreon king of Salamis in Cyprus, whose hatred he had incurred by his free-speaking. Laertius tells us (IX 59) that he was pounded to death in a mortar, and that in his tortures he uttered the words often quoted by the Christian Fathers πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, Ἀνάξαρχον δὲ οὐ πτίσσεις (see Menage *in loc.*). He adds that when the tyrant, in order to silence him, ordered his tongue to be cut off, he bit it off and spat it in his face; see Cic. *Tusc.* II 52 *Zeno proponatur Eleates, qui perpessus est omnia potius quam conscios delendae tyrannidis indicaret: de Anaxarcho Democriteo cogitetur, qui cum Cypri in manus Timocreontis* (sic) *regis incidisset nullum genus supplicii deprecatus est neque recusavit;* Val. Max. III 3 § 4 extr.

excarnificatum: 'butchered', only found here in Cic. [in Seneca three times, twice in metaphorical sense, *Clem.* I 16 § 3, *Ira* III 4 § 3. Add to lexx. Lact. *M. P.* I, Oros. VII 8, Cyprian (ed. Hartel) p. 552. 9, 559. 5 and 18. J. E. B. M.] Livy uses the simple verb.

Zeno: the disciple of Parmenides, b. B.C. 490, see vol. I p. xiv. The circumstances of his death are variously reported. It is agreed that he underwent torture, but the torturer is sometimes called Nearchus, sometimes Diomedes or Demylus or even, by a palpable blunder, Phalaris or Dionysius;

again the place is sometimes Elea, sometimes Agrigentum; some say that he bit off his tongue to avoid confession, others that he named confidential friends of the tyrant as conspirators, others that he bit off the tyrant's ear under pretence of whispering a secret to him: some (e.g. Hermippus B.C. 250) repeat of him the story told of Anaxarchus, see Diog. L. IX 26 nn., Zeller I p. 536. Three of the instances here cited by Cic. (Dionysius, Anaxarchus and Zeno) are also referred to by Philo *Prov.* I 6—11, 26.

Platonem legens: the *Phaedo* is also alluded to in *Tusc.* I 24, 84, 102, cf. the well-known story of Cato.

discrimen: sc. *inter bonos et improbos.*

Ch. XXXIV § 83. **Harpalum**: edd. generally assume that the reference is to a pirate, elsewhere named Scirpalus (Diog. L. VI 74), who captured Diogenes and sold him for a slave; but why may we not understand it of the well-known Harpalus, Alexander's dishonest treasurer, who, fearing to be punished for his reckless and profligate expenditure at Babylon, fled for refuge to Athens in the year B.C. 324, bringing with him enormous sums of money, with which to bribe the leading men and so obtain the protection of the city? Diogenes did not die till 323, so that he may well have expressed his disgust at seeing the wealth and luxury of the unprincipled adventurer; see Grote's *Greece* vol. XII ch. 95. Harpalus left Athens on the demand of Antipater and was not long afterwards treacherously slain in Crete by one of his companions. The following phrase *in illa fortuna* seems more suited to one who had risen to high position, like Harpalus, than to a pirate, whose name is unknown except from the fact that he happened to capture Diogenes. [But *tam diu viveret* does not seem very appropriate. R.] See Introduction on MSS.

qui temporibus illis praedo felix habebatur: 'a freebooter of the day who passed for fortunate'; cf. I 63 *sophistes temporibus illis vel maximus.* The same term is frequently used of Verres and other extortionate governors by Cic. e.g. 2 *Verr.* I 152 *quod ornamentum pueritiae pater dederat,...hoc ab isto praedone ereptum;* ib. II 184 *cujusmodi praedo iste in illa provincia fuerit; Prov. Cons.* 11 *quos non virtus...non splendor tueri potuit contra illius helluonis et praedonis audaciam* (of Gabinius). The reading is very doubtful, and there is certainly something peculiar in the expression. Perhaps Cicero's authority may have spoken of Harp. much as Plato does of Archelaus (*Gorg.* 472) *σὺ ἡγεῖ οἷόν τε εἶναι μακάριον ἄνδρα ἀδικοῦντά τε καὶ ἄδικον ὄντα, εἴπερ Ἀρχέλαον ἄδικον μὲν ἡγεῖ εἶναι, εὐδαίμονα δέ*, whereas it is only the just and temperate man who is really happy, not one who allows *ἐπιθυμίας ἀκολάστους εἶναι καὶ ταύτας ἐπιχειροῦντα πληροῦν, ἀνήνυτον κακόν, λῃστοῦ βίον ζῶντα* (ib. 507 D).

contra deos testimonium dicere: cf. below § 88, Sext. Emp. IX 53 of Diagoras, *ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπό τινος ἐπιορκήσαντος καὶ μηδὲν ἕνεκα τούτου παθόντος μεθηρμόσατο εἰς τὸ λέγειν μὴ εἶναι θεόν.* Menage on Diog. L. l. c. quotes Martial IV 21 *nullos esse deos, inane caelum affirmat Selius probatque, quod se factum, dum negat hoc, videt beatum,* Seneca *Cons. ad Marc.* 12 § 6

deorum crimen erat Sulla tam felix, and a line from Greek comedy θεοῦ δ' ὄνειδος τοὺς κακοὺς εὐδαιμονεῖν. [Sen. *Med.* 1027 *per alta vade spatia sublimi aetheris, testare nullos esse, qua veheris, deos;* Ovid *Amor.* III 3 1 *esse deos credamne? fidem jurata fefellit: et facies illi, quae fuit ante, manet.* J. E. B. M.]

fanum Proserpinae: this, the most famous temple of the Epizephyrian Locri, was plundered by Pyrrhus, who was visited with a storm in consequence and compelled to restore the stolen treasure; cf. Liv. XXIX 18, where the Locrian speaker, complaining of the plunder of the temple in the Hannibalian war by Pleminius, the legate, refers to the sacrilege of Pyrrhus, and says that he was the first who had ever ventured to lay hands on the treasures (*intactos ad eam diem*). The senate condemned Pleminius and ordered restitution to be made. Diodorus (XXVII 4) tells the same story, adding ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἱερῶν τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγεται καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἁγνὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τετηρῆσθαι, cf. Val. Max. I 20 ext. 1. It would seem therefore that neither Livy nor Diodorus accepted the story here told by Cic., which in fact is hardly credible on other grounds, as Locri was the native place of Doris, the wife of Dionysius, and was also of great use to him in his wars against Rhegium and other states of Magna Graecia, services which he repaid by repeatedly enlarging its territory at the expense of his enemies. As we are told of the detestation in which the *younger* Dionysius was held at Locri, during his residence there after his first expulsion from Syracuse in 356 B.C., it might be supposed that he is the person here referred to, but the other anecdotes seem to be all spoken of the elder Dionysius. Is it possible that Cic., or his authority, has written *Locri* for *Crotona* and *Proserpina* for *Juno*? because we read that the elder Dionysius plundered the temple of Here Lacynia at Crotona, and sold to the Carthaginians for 120 talents the costly robe of the goddess, which had been presented as a votive offering by the Sybarite Alcimenes, see the references in Grote vol. XI p. 31. He also pillaged the temple of Leucothea at Agylla, from which he is said to have taken 1000 talents, cf. Pseudo-Arist. *Oecon.* II 21 (where many similar anecdotes are related of him) and Diod. XV 14. For the following anecdotes cf. Lactant. II 4, Arnob. VI 21, Clem. *Protr.* p. 46 P., Ael. *V. H.* I 20, Val. Max. I ext. 3. [Philo *Prov.* II 6. On sacrilege see Juv. *index*. J. E. B. M.]

isque: see Index under 'pleonastic demonstrative'.

bene planeque: Orelli proposed to omit *que*, as in *Tusc.* II 44 *bene plane magnus videtur.*

ad Peloponnesum classem appulisset: we are nowhere told that Dionysius visited Greece in person, and Victorius (*Var. Lect.* XXI 10) followed by Grote (vol. XI p. 35) is probably right in supposing that Cic. here confounds the temple of Zeus at Olympia with a temple of the Olympian Zeus at Syracuse. Two such are mentioned, the Ὀλυμπιεῖον by the river Anapus, spoken of by Thuc. VI 64 and Liv. XXIV 33, and that situated in Achradina, which Cic. calls *templum egregium Jovis Olympii*

(*Verr.* IV 119), cf. Liv. XXIV 21 *inermes ex Olympii Jovis templo spolia Gallorum Illyriorumque dono data Hieroni a populo Romano detrahunt.* Aelian (I 20) distinctly says that D. plundered all the temples in Syracuse, and that he stripped the statue of Jupiter of gold to the amount of 85 talents, himself being the first to lay hands upon it, when the workmen shrunk back; see also Clem. Al. *Protr.* p. 15 who tells the tale of the younger D. in reference to a Sicilian temple. In like manner he cut off the golden curls from the image of Apollo, cf. Plut. *Isis* p. 379.

aureum detraxit amiculum: so Lachares B.C. 295 stripped the image of Athene in the Parthenon (Paus. I 25); Verres the image of Diana at Perga (2 *Verr.* I 54) and the golden ornaments from the Gorgon's head in the temple of Minerva at Syracuse (ib. IV 60 foll., cf. IV 124); in the sack of Carthage an image of Apollo met with the same treatment (Val. Max. I 1 § 18). Even Pericles reckoned the gold attire of the goddess among the resources of Athens, which might be used in case of emergency, though, if so used, it must be afterwards restored (Thuc. II 13). In like manner the kings of Judah used the gold of the Temple to buy off their enemies. Cf. Liv. V 50 § 6 *jam ante in eo religio civitatis apparuerat, quod, cum in publico deesset aurum, ex quo summa pactae mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis collatum acceperant ut sacro auro abstineretur;* Val. Max. VII 6 § 4 (in the consulship of Marius and Carbo) *senatus consulto aurea atque argentea templorum ornamenta, ne militibus stipendia deessent, conflata sunt;* Tac. *Ann.* XV 45 § 2. For the *laneum pallium* cf. what we are told of Caligula, who consecrated his own image (*simulacrum aureum iconicum*), and had it dressed every day in robes such as he wore himself (Suet. *Cal.* 22). Such robes were often presented to deities, e.g. the peplum of Athene.

Gelo: tyrant of Syracuse at the time of the Persian war. He was renowned for his pious munificence both at home and at Delphi (Athen. VI p. 231) and Olympia (Pausan. VI 19 § 4). The spoils here mentioned were gained in the great victory at Himera B.C. 480. Hiero is named instead of his predecessor Gelo in the best MS of Val. Max. (I 1 ext. 3). He also was famed for his liberality to the temples at Delphi and Olympia. One of his offerings at Olympia, a golden helmet, is now in the British Museum.

in eo cavillatus est: 'made it the subject of a jesting remark'. For the use of *in* cf. below § 87 *in virtute gloriamur*, I 71 *in ceris diceretur*, 75 *in Venere Coa*, and Roby § 1978. For the object clause after *cav.* cf. Plin. *N. H.* XI 112 *pisces non in totum sine ullo sono sunt: stridorem eum dentibus fieri cavillantur.* For similar jesting compare the language put into the mouth of Brennus by Justin XXIV 6 *animum ad deorum immortalium templa convertit, scurriliter jocatus 'locupletes deos largiri hominibus oportere'.*

cum—diceret: 'saying'. On the postponement of the *cum*-clause, see I 58, and Roby § 1722.

esse ad omne anni tempus: the edd. add *aptum*, which is omitted in the best MSS. Forchhammer p. 28 cites Caes. *B. C.* III 101 *res quae sunt ad incendia* (where also the inferior MSS add *aptae*), Cato *R. R.* 125 *vinum murteum est ad lateris dolorem;* cf. Cic. *Att.* III 7 § 2 *reliqua tempora sunt non tam ad medicinam quam ad finem doloris.* [*Planc.* 59 *ad praecepta aetas non est*, where some add *gravis*. J. E. B. M.]

Epidauri: Forchhammer follows Lamb. in reading *Epidaurii*, as we have no reason to suppose that D. was ever at Epidaurus or would have dared to offer such an insult to the religious and patriotic feeling of the Greeks. However we have seen that C. was capable of a similar blunder in reference to the still more sacred temple at Olympia, so he may easily have mistaken the Epidaurian god for the god at Epidaurus; and the reading of the MSS is supported by Val. Max. I extr. 3 *idem Epidauri Aesculapio barbam demi jussit.* The epithet might refer to the particular attributes of the Epidaurian image, bearded and enfolded with the snake, as distinguished from the Gortynian or Aulonian or the beardless Asclepius (Paus. II 11 p. 137, ib. IV 36 p. 373). His worship was introduced into Rome from Epidaurus by order of the Sibylline books B.C. 293. For an account of the arrival of the sacred snake see Val. Max. I 8 § 2. Athenaeus (XV p. 695) tells the story in reference to a Sicilian Asclepius, cf. Cic. *Verr.* IV 128 *signum Paeanis ex aede Aesculapii...sustulisti*, and IV 93 (of Agrigentum) *signum Apollinis pulcherrimum...ex Aesculapii religiosissimo fano sustulisti.*

barbam auream: cf. Pers. II 56 *sitque illis* (i.e. the gods who send prophetic dreams) *aurea barba*, Petron. 58, Suet. *Calig.* 52. We are told of the indignation excited amongst the Christians at Carthage about 400 A.D. by the gilding of the beard of Hercules, Neander III 105 (in Clark's series); he refers to Aug. *Serm.* 24.

imberbis: see above I 83. Müller *Anc. Art.* tr. 394 § 2 gives exx. of an *imberbis Aesculapius.*

§ 84. **mensas argenteas—dicebat**: a comparison of Athen. XV p. 693 and of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oecon.* II 42 seems to show that Cic. has misunderstood his authority. In the former we read ὅτι δὲ δοθείσης τῆς τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος κράσεως ἔθος ἦν βαστάζειν τὰς τραπέζας, ἔδειξε διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσεβείας ὁ Σικελιώτης Διονύσιος. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀσκληπίῳ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἀνακειμένης τραπέζης χρυσῆς προπιὼν αὐτῷ ἄκρατον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἐκέλευε βασταχθῆναι τὴν τράπεζαν: in the latter Διονύσιος τὰ ἱερὰ περιπορευόμενος, εἰ μὲν τράπεζαν ἴδοι παρακειμένην χρυσῆν ἢ ἀργυρᾶν, ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος κελεύσας ἐγχέαι ἐκέλευσεν ἀφαιρεῖν. (What follows illustrates other anecdotes in our text, ὅσα δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων φιάλην εἶχε προτετακότα, εἴπας ἂν ὅτι 'δέχομαι' ἐξαιρεῖν ἐκέλευεν· τά θ' ἱμάτια τά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους περιῄρει τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, φάσκων αὐτὸς καὶ κουφότερα καὶ εὐωδέστερα δοῦναι, εἶτα ἱμάτια μὲν λευκά, στεφάνους δὲ λευκίνους (of poplar) περιετίθει.) There was no class of *boni dei* or ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, and we nowhere read of tables inscribed with their name. The real account of the matter is this:

Dionysius makes a scoffing allusion to the Greek custom of taking a sip of unmixed wine and pouring a libation in honour of the giver of the grape (ἀγαθὸς δαίμων) at the end of the first course, before the tables were removed to make room for the symposium ; cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 85 ἄκρατον οἶνον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, *Vesp.* 525, Nicostratus (son of Aristophanes) in his comedy *Pandrosus* cited by Athen. xv 693 ἀλλ' ἐγχέασα θᾶττον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἀπενεγκάτω μοι τὴν τράπεζαν ἐκ ποδῶν, ἱκανῶς κεχόρτασμαι γάρ· ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος δέχομαι· λαβοῦσ' ἀπένεγκε ταύτην ἐκ ποδῶν, ib. II p. 38, Diod. IV 3. Instead of the formula ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος it was also customary to say ὑγιείας (Becker *Char.* tr. p. 329). As the worship of Ὑγίεια was combined with that of her father Asclepius, we may suppose that Dionysius on entering their common temple would pour a libation to her, as a signal to his servants to remove her table, which would probably be a votive offering and might even have her name inscribed upon it.

mensas argenteas: cf. Macrob. *Sat.* III 11 *in Papiriano jure relatum est arae vicem praestare mensam dicatam, 'ut in templo' inquit 'Junonis Populoniae augusta mensa est. Namque in fanis alia vasorum sunt et sacrae supellectilis, alia ornamentorum. Quae vasorum sunt, instrumenti instar habent, quibus semper sacrificia conficiuntur, quarum rerum principem locum obtinet mensa, in qua epulae libationesque et stipes reponuntur'*; Festus s. v. *mensae* p. 157 M., ib. *curiales mensae* p. 64, Virg. *Aen.* II 764. For *arg.* cf. Petron. 73 *mensas totas argenteas* cited by Mayor on Juv. XI 128. Verres took marble tables from the temples (Cic. *Verr.* IV 110).

Victoriolas: these were most commonly found with statues (hence called νικηφόροι) of Zeus and Athene, see Müller *Anc. Art* pp. 422, 465, and the account of Phidias' statue of Athene in Epict. II 8. Verres proved himself a worthy successor of Dionysius in this as in other modes of extortion, cf. *Verr.* IV 110 *insistebat in manu Cereris dextra grande simulacrum pulcherrime factum Victoriae ; hoc iste avellendum curavit*, ib. 112.

porrectis manibus: cf. Arist. *Eccl.* 778 λαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς μόνον δεῖ νὴ Δί. καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοί· γνώσει δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν γε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεσθα διδόναι τἀγαθά, ἕστηκεν ἐκτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπτίαν, οὐχ ὥς τι δώσοντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται, Justin XXXIX 2 of a king of Syria at Antioch, *cum stipendia militibus deessent, templo Jovis solidum ex auro Victoriae signum tolli jubet, facetis jocis sacrilegium circumscribens, nam Victoriam commodatam sibi ab Jove esse dicebat.*

esse enim stultitiam—nolle sumere: Draeger § 431 compares Plaut. *Stich.* 139 *stultitiast venatum ducere invitas canes*, and Cic. *Brut.* I 17 § 4 *O magnam stultitiam timoris, id ipsum quod verearis ita timere ut* &c.

a sacris: if this is correct it must mean 'obtained from sanctuaries', but it is more natural to read *sacri* with Ba.

impietatem in deos: for exx. of the preposition joining substantives see Index.

Ch. XXXV. **nec Olympius—percussit**: a different view is given *Tusc.* V 57 foll., where it is said that no right-judging man can doubt that

Dionysius was most miserable: *propter injustam dominatus cupiditatem in carcerem quodam modo ipse se incluserat:* he could not trust even his wives or daughters or most intimate friends: then, after telling the story of Damocles, Cic. concludes *hujus vita taetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum;* see further on § 85. Valerius (I 1 extr. 3) finds his punishment in the misfortunes of his son, *lento enim gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira;* Justin (xx 5) says *assiduis belli certaminibus victus fractusque insidiis postremum suorum interficitur*, herein differing from the account below, where see n. But Grote no doubt expresses the ordinary feeling of the contemporaries of Dionysius, when he says, in reference to the denunciations of impending wrath uttered by Phyton, the brave commander of the Rhegians, 'the prophetic persuasion under which this unhappy man perished, that divine vengeance would soon overtake his destroyer, was no way borne out by the subsequent reality'.

atque: on its use after a negative sentence see Roby § 2200.

in Typanidis rogum: as regards the cause of his death, the account of Justin l.c. is confirmed by the statement in Nepos (*Dion* 2) that poison was given to him in his last illness by his physicians at the instance of his son, in order to prevent Dion's speaking to him about the division of the kingdom; and by Plutarch (*Dion* 6), who cites Timaeus as his authority, and only differs from Nepos in imputing the action entirely to the physicians, who thought thus to secure the favour of the younger D. This is not inconsistent with the report of Diodorus (xv 4) that the illness of the elder Dionysius was itself caused by excessive feasting in his delight at the success of his tragedy (Λύτρα Ἕκτορος) at Athens; cf. Plin. VII 53, who makes him die simply of excitement on hearing the good news. The funeral of Dionysius was celebrated for its magnificence: thus Diodorus l.c. says of the younger D. τὸν πατέρα μεγαλοπρεπῶς θάψας κατὰ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν πρὸς ταῖς βασιλίσι καλουμέναις πύλαις, ἠσφαλίσατο τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν. (As we know from Plut. *Dion* 29 that the citadel constructed by the elder D. stood within the island Ortygia, immediately fronting the mainland, this disposes of all emendations referring to Temenitis, which was at some distance from Ortygia.) Theo (*Progymn.* 8 in Walz *Rhet. Gr.* I p. 164) cites as a pattern of good description the 11th book of Philistus concerning the funeral of D. καὶ τῆς πυρᾶς τὴν ποικιλίαν: there are allusions to this pyre in Plut. *Pelop.* 34 ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ταφῶν οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἕτεραι λαμπρότεραι γενέσθαι τοῖς τὸ λαμπρὸν οὐκ ἐν ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ πορφύραις εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ὥσπερ Φίλιστος ὑμνῶν καὶ θαυμάζων τὴν Διονυσίου ταφήν, οἷον τραγῳδίας μεγάλης τῆς τυραννίδος ἐξόδιον θεατρικὸν γενομένην, and in Moschion ap. Athen. v 206 Τίμαιος θαυμάζεται ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ τῇ κατασκευασθείσῃ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ. This occurs in a list of the chief works of famous engineers, as the engine (ἑλέπολις) used by Demetrius against Rhodes, the bier on which Alexander's body was carried &c., so that we should naturally translate 'Timaeus is admired for the pyre he constructed', understanding him to have been the engineer employed to construct the

pyre (so Grote Pt. II ch. 84, vol. XI p. 91), but the name mentioned in connexion with the engine of Demetrius is not Epimachius, its actual constructor (as we learn from Vitr. X 22 § 4), but a certain Diocleides of Abdera; hence it has been supposed that Diocleides was a writer, admired for his description of the Helepolis, or even (taking θαυμάζεται as middle, so Schweig. in loc.!) that he was one who expressed his admiration for it. (In Didot's *Script. Alex. Magn.* p. 133 it is quoted θαυμαζέτω.) On the same principle we should understand Timaeus here to be the historian, though it would seem from previous quotations that his description could not have been so celebrated as that by Philistus. We may form some idea of the magnificence of the pyre from the account given of another pyre by Herodian IV 2 (quoted in *Dict. of Ant.* under *apotheosis*). We come now to the word *typanidis*, various emendations of which will be found in Not. Crit., some turning on the disease, others on the place of burial. As we have seen that the pyre itself was so celebrated, it seems not improbable that the name of the constructor may have been added. Professor Jebb however prefers the reading of B (*tyrannidis*) and refers in support of it to Isocr. *Archid.* 49, where it is said that D. was once shamed out of a flight from Syracuse by the words of one of his friends, reminding him ὡς καλὸν ἐντάφιον ἡ τυραννίς 'the purple is a noble winding-sheet' [cf. the words of Theodora in the sedition A.D. 532, as cited by Gibbon ch. xl, 'For my own part I adhere to the maxim of antiquity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre'. Swainson], and so τυραννῶν τὸν βίον διετέλεσεν (*Cambr. Philol. Trans.* I p. 21, where there is a wrong reference to *J. of Phil.* V 266). There is a remarkable resemblance between these words and those quoted above from Philistus (a writer cited in the *De Divinatione*, which was written just after the *N. D.* and taken probably from the same authorities), but I do not think *tyrannidis rogum* is an expression which Cic. could have used. If it meant anything, it must mean, as Lambinus observes, 'the extinction of the tyranny', like *bustum rei publicae* in *Piso* 9. I should myself suggest that the original reading may have been something as follows, *in suo lectulo mortuus, ut tyrannidis fabula magnificum haberet exitum, in Typanidis* (?) *rogum illatus est.* If *Typanidis* is right (any name with the same termination would account for the omission of the words following *tyrannidis*), it would probably be after the form *Alcibiades, Carneades.* According to Plutarch *S. N. V.* p. 559 the body of D. was afterwards taken up and cast beyond the boundaries by the Syracusans. See on the whole passage Fortsch *Qu. Tull.* pp. 1—5 Naumburg 1837, Schömann *Opusc.* III p. 353.

Dc. (3). *Such a state of things is inconsistent with any moral government.* § 85.

§ 85. **invita versatur oratio**: for the personification cf. I 102 *haec oratio deos spoliat motu*, *Ac.* II 101 *conclusio ipsa loquitur.*

recte videretur: 'we should be justified in so thinking'.

virtutis et vitiorum...grave ipsius conscientiae pondus: 'the weight of the consciousness of virtue or vice', i.e. 'the weight of a good or bad conscience'. So far all schools were agreed, cf. *Milo* 61 *magna vis est conscientiae, judices, et magna in utramque partem, ut neque timeant qui nihil commiserint, et poenam semper ante oculos versari putent qui peccarint; Parad.* 18 *te conscientiae stimulant maleficiorum tuorum; te metus exanimant judiciorum atque legum: quocumque adspexisti, ut furiae, sic tuae tibi occurrunt injuriae, quae te suspirare libere non sinunt; Leg.* I 40 *poenas luunt non tam judiciis...sed eos agitant insectanturque furiae... angore conscientiae fraudisque cruciatu;* Lucr. III 978—1023, Juv. XIII 192 foll. with Mayor's nn.

sine ulla divina ratione: 'without any divine arrangement'; it was this negation which separated the Epicurean and sceptical schools from the others. The true view is given *Cluent.* 159 *maximi aestimare conscientiam mentis suae, quam ab dis immortalibus accepimus, quae a nobis divelli non potest; Har. Resp.* 39 *a dis quidem immortalibus quae potest homini major esse poena furore atque dementia?...tu cum domos civium evertis... cum servos concitas, tum das eas poenas quae solae sunt hominum sceleri a dis immortalibus constitutae...deorum tela in impiorum mentibus figuntur; Leg.* II 43 *meritas dis gratias ago* (for punishing the guilty), *sed nimis saepe secus aliquanto videmus evadere. Non enim, Quinte, recte existimamus quae poena divina sit, sed opinionibus vulgi rapimur in errorem...morte aut dolore corporis aut luctu animi aut offensione judicii hominum miserias ponderamus, quae fateor multis bonis viris accidisse. Sceleris est poena tristis et praeter eos eventus, qui sequuntur, per se ipsa maxima est...Ponam brevi duplicem poenam esse divinam, quod constat et ex vexandis vivorum animis et ea fama mortuorum, ut eorum exitium et judicio vivorum et gaudio comprobetur;* Pers. III 35 *magne pater divum saevos punire tyrannos haud alia ratione velis, cum dira libido moverit ingenium...virtutem videant intabescantque relicta.* The question of the apparent delay and uncertainty of punishment is discussed in Plutarch *S. N. V.* especially pp. 554 and 564 foll., and Plato *Gorg.* 525. Hebrew and Greek philosophy both reached their highest point in treating of this great argument, the former in the Book of Job, the latter in Plato's *Republic.*

jacent omnia: 'all is prostrate, ruined', cf. I 4.

dissignata: cf. Nettleship in *J. of Phil.* x 206 foll., who distinguishes between this form, as meaning to mark out or arrange in different directions and so to order or dispose, and the form *designo*, which means to mark out in one direction and so plan or design; see above I 26.

nec recte factis praemia: *epist. ad Brut.* I 15 *Solon...rem publicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, praemio et poena.*

mundi divina moderatio nulla est: 'there is no such thing as a divine government of the world'. The words *in homines* are no doubt a gloss added by a reader, who held that there might be a divine government of unconscious matter, independently of rewards and punishments.

I think however Madvig is unnecessarily fastidious in objecting to the phrase *mod. in homines*, cf. *Invent.* II 163 *temperantia est rationis in libidinem moderata dominatio*, and so with *imperium*, *regnum* and similar words.

Dc. (4). *It is no answer to say that 'de minimis non curat lex'. Life and civil status cannot be considered 'minima'.* § 86.

§ 86. **at enim minora**: see II 167 n., *Div.* II 105, Philo p. 644 M. *τὸ προμηθὲς ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συνεκτικώτατα ἐφορᾶν ἀγαπᾷ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις καὶ στρατἀρχίαις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὐκ ἐπί τινα τῶν ἠμελημένων καὶ ἀφανῶν ἕνα τὸν προστυχόντα.*

[**agellos—viticulas**: cf. Plin. *Ep.* I 24 §§ 1 and 4. J. E. B. M.]

persequuntur: 'examine minutely', 'follow out into minute detail', cf. II 159 *persequi utilitates*, 152 *sollertiam persequi*, I 111 *voluptates persequitur nominatim*, *Pis.* 53 *omnes solitudines persequi.*

uredo: 'blasting'. Columella (III 20 § 1) and Pliny (*N. H.* XXVIII 68) agree that this is caused by cold. The latter identifies it with *carbunculus.* So *uro* is used of nipping cold.

omnia minima: see II 141 n., *Orat.* II 162 *omnes tenuissimas particulas atque omnia minima mansa—in os inserant*, and *Part. Orat.* 60; so we find *omnia summa*, *omnia ultima* &c.

sic enim dicitis: i.e. you Stoics (as in the passage just quoted from Philo). This particular illustration is not given in Bk. II. See below § 90.

Formiano: Formiae, the modern Mola di Gaïeta, was a favorite site for villas. The ruins of what is supposed to be Cicero's villa are still pointed out. On Rutilius see above § 80.

amissa salute: refers to his exile, the interdict from fire and water, just as *restitutor salutis meae* (*Mil.* 39) is used of Lentulus, who proposed the law recalling Cic. from exile, cf. *Pis.* 34 *nemini sit triumphus honorificentius quam mihi salus restitutioque perscripta.* Like *caput*, *salus* implies the full enjoyment of the rights of a citizen.

Dc. (5). *[If it be alleged that all external goods are trifles in comparison of virtue], it is just these external goods which are at the disposal of Heaven. Virtue is our own, and is therefore never made the subject of prayer. Men have deified virtue in the abstract, but in reality it is only a quality of their own nature.* §§ 86—88.

(As the arguments which follow all relate to the general question of rewards and punishments, it seems better to suppose this to be connected with it in the manner suggested above, rather than to treat it as an independent argument, denying the doctrine maintained in the previous book, §§ 165, 167, that human virtue is derived from God.) Cf. Plut. *St. Rep.* c. 31 *εἴπερ οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἀρετὴν μὲν οὐ δίδωσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τὸ καλὸν αὐθαίρετόν ἐστιν, πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ ὑγίειαν χωρὶς ἀρετῆς δίδωσιν, οὐκ εὖ χρησομένοις δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ κακῶς, τουτέστι βλαβερῶς καὶ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ὀλεθρίως κ.τ.λ.*

Ch. XXXVI. [**vineta**: add to lexx. Stat. *Silvae* III 5. 100, *Panegyr.* 11 § 22, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 37 § 3.

oliveta: also in Varro, Columella, Plin. *H. N.* XVII 245 and Sen. *Ep.* 86 §§ 14, 17, 18. From the vulgate the word has passed into the English bible. J. E. B. M.]

virtutem nemo umquam acceptam deo rettulit: 'none ever imputed his virtue to God', lit. 'credited God with it'. The metaphor is taken from a ledger, on one side of which we put the outgoings (*expensa*), on the other side the receipts (*accepta*), cf. Verr. I 39 *minus Dolabella Verri acceptum rettulit quam Verres illi expensum tulit.* The statement is very far from the truth: Homer (*Il.* XIII 730) gives the old Greek doctrine in the words *ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε θεὸς πολεμήια ἔργα, ἄλλῳ δ' ἐν στήθεσσι τιθεῖ νόον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς ἐσθλόν*, and throughout his poems any unusual display of courage or wisdom or self-restraint is attributed to the influence of a deity, cf. Pind. *Isthm.* III 4 *Ζεῦ, μεγάλαι δ' ἀρεταὶ θνατοῖς ἕπονται ἐκ σέθεν*, ib. *frag.* 85 Bergk *θεοῦ δὲ δείξαντος ἀρχὰν ἕκαστον ἐν* (Boeot. for *ἐς*) *πρᾶγος εὐθεῖα δὴ κέλευθος ἀρετὰν ἑλεῖν, τελευταί τε καλλίονες*, Aesch. *Ag.* 901 *τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον*, Eur. *Med.* 635 *σωφροσύνα δώρημα κάλλιστον θεῶν*, and nn. above on II 165 and 167. In the time of Socrates the question 'how virtue is acquired' was a favorite subject for discussion: Protagoras professed to teach it, i.e. to make men good citizens, and in the dialogue called after him, Socrates is represented as saying *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ἡγούμην οὐκ εἶναι ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιμέλειαν ᾗ ἀγαθοὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται, νῦν δὲ πέπεισμαι* (*Prot.* 328); which, though expressed ironically in the particular passage, seems to have been his genuine belief. Yet this does not prevent him from praying to Pan and the other gods at the end of the *Phaedrus* *δοίητέ μοι καλῷ γενέσθαι τἄνδοθεν· ἔξωθεν δὲ ὅσα ἔχω, τοῖς ἐντὸς εἶναί μοι φίλια· πλούσιον δὲ νομίζοιμι τὸν σοφόν.* The question is expressly discussed in the *Meno*, concluding in the words *θείᾳ μοίρᾳ ἡμῖν φαίνεται παραγιγνομένη ἡ ἀρετὴ οἷς παραγίγνεται* (p. 100). In the *Republic* Plato recognized all the different factors which had been opposed by earlier disputants: the lower practical virtues of the Auxiliaries are mainly the result of discipline and habituation, the higher philosophic virtue of the Guardians is due in great part to learning and instruction, but *θεία μοῖρα* still plays its part in the original distinction between the gold and silver natures. Aristotle deals with the same question *Eth.* x 9 § 6 *γίνεσθαι δ' ἀγαθοὺς οἴονται οἱ μὲν φύσει, οἱ δ' ἔθει, οἱ δὲ διδαχῇ. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς φύσεως δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ διά τινας θείας αἰτίας τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐτυχέσιν ὑπάρχει κ.τ.λ.* and so in Bk. I 9 (of happiness which he makes to consist so largely in virtue) *ἀπορεῖται πότερόν ἐστι μαθητὸν ἢ ἐθιστὸν ἢ ἄλλως πως ἀσκητόν, ἢ κατά τινα θείαν μοῖραν ἢ καὶ διὰ τύχην παραγίνεται· εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐστὶ θεῶν δώρημα ἀνθρώποις, εὔλογον καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν θεόσδοτον εἶναι...φαίνεται δὲ κἂν εἰ μὴ θεόπεμπτός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀρετὴν καί τινα μάθησιν ἢ ἄσκησιν παραγίγνεται, τῶν θειοτάτων εἶναι.* Hippodamus, the Neo-Pythagorean, says that, of the two components of happi-

ness, we obtain virtue διὰ τὰν θείαν μοῖραν, τὰν δὲ εὐτυχίαν διὰ τὰν θνατάν (Orell. *Op. Mor.* II p. 284). Horace (*Ep.* I 18. 111) agrees with Cotta here, *sed satis est orare Jovem quae donat et aufert, det vitam, det opes, aequum mi animum ipse parabo;* and so Seneca (*Ep.* 41 § 1) *bonam mentem quam stultum est optare, cum possis a te impetrare.* Such a view seems to follow naturally from the Stoic doctrine of αὐτάρκεια and their distinction between things in our power and things not in our power; but there is the same inconsistency in their language, as there is in that of Christian writers, where they treat of Faith and Works, Free-Will and Grace. Thus Balbus above (II § 79) *mens fides virtus concordia unde nisi ab superis defluere potuerunt?* Seneca (*Provid.* 6) *quare bonis viris patitur aliquid mali deus fieri? Ille vero non patitur. Omnia mala ab iis removit, scelera et flagitia et cogitationes improbas et avida consilia et libidinem caecam: ipsos tuetur et vindicat; numquid hoc quoque a deo exigis, ut bonorum virorum etiam sarcinas servet?* also *Ep.* 73 § 15 *non sunt di fastidiosi, non invidi: admittunt (ad astra homines) et ascendentibus manum porrigunt. Miraris hominem ad deos ire? deus ad hominem venit, immo, quod est propius, in homines venit: nulla sine deo mens bona est,* and Juvenal x 346 *nil ergo optabunt homines? si consilium vis, permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid conveniat.... Ut tamen et poscas aliquid...orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano; fortem posce animum mortis terrore vacantem...qui ferre queat quoscumque labores, nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil* &c.; and then shortly afterwards the other side, *monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare,* see Mayor on x 363. But by far the most interesting statements of the Stoic faith on this subject are to be found in M. Aurelius, as in the passage where he thanks the Gods for keeping him pure from the vices of youth (I 17); and in IX 40 "either the Gods have power or they have not. If they have not, why do you pray? If they have, why do you not rather pray that they would grant you freedom from fear and grief and desire, instead of praying for the presence or absence of the outward things which excite these feelings? ...But perhaps you will say ἐπ' ἐμοὶ αὐτὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἐποίησαν...But who told you that the Gods cannot help us even as regards the things in our own power (τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν)? Begin at any rate to pray about these things, and you will see for yourself. This one prays 'grant me such and such an evil desire' or 'avert from me this danger'. Do you on the contrary pray 'take from me this desire and this fear' καὶ θεώρει τί γίνεται" (shortened). St Paul gives both sides, the human and the divine, in *Phil.* II 12 μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε, θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν. [Add Sen. *Ep.* 90 § 1, Max. Tyr. 11 § 8, Sil. XVI 83—86. J. E. B. M.]

§ 87. **nimirum recte**: 'doubtless with good reason'.

propter virtutem laudamur: so Arist. *Eth.* I 12 τὸν δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ ὅλως τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινοῦμεν διὰ τὰς πράξεις: virtues belong to the class ἐπαινετά as distinguished from τίμια, ib. III 5 § 2, *Rhet.* I 9, *Eth. Eud.* II 6 ἐπεὶ δ' ἥ τε ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ κακία καὶ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔργα τὰ μὲν

ἐπαινετά, τὰ δὲ ψεκτὰ (ψέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἐπαινεῖται...ὅσων αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι ἔσμεν, ὅσων γὰρ ἄλλος αἴτιος, ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸν ψόγον καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει), δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ κακία περὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν αὐτὸς αἴτιος, Cic. *Or.* II 343 *virtus, quae est per se ipsa laudabilis et sine qua nihil laudari potest*, *Acad.* II 39 *ubi igitur virtus, si nihil situm est in ipsis nobis?*

recte gloriamur: see n. on *nulla re nisi immortalitate cedens* II 153 and examples of the opposite side of Stoic teaching cited in my *Anc. Phil.* p. 169. For the Christian view cf. 1 *Cor.* IV 7 τί δὲ ἔχεις ὃ οὐκ ἔλαβες; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες, τί καυχᾶσαι ὡς μὴ λαβών;

nostrae laudi assumptum: 'nothing has been gained for our glory'. The verb occurs with the same construction but a somewhat different sense in *Sull.* 85 *dico illud quod...non auctoritati assumam sed pudori meo*, *Planc.* 56 *ut eorum reprehensionem vos vestrae prudentiae assumere, meae modestiae remittere debeatis.*

quis quod bonus vir esset gratias dis egit: we have seen that M. Aurelius did this some two hundred years after Cicero wrote, but so did Cic. himself, (*Sulla* 40) *O di immortales! vobis enim tribuo quae vestra sunt...vos profecto animum meum tum conservandae patriae cupiditate incendistis; vos me ab omnibus ceteris cogitationibus ad unam salutem rei publicae convertistis* foll.; cf. also the saying attributed to Bias (Stob. *Flor.* III 6, Diog. L. I 88) ὅταν ἀγαθὸν πράσσῃς, θεούς, μὴ σεαυτόν, αἰτιῶ.

optimus maximus: see on II 64.

salvos incolumes: 'safe and unharmed'. The word *inc.* means more than mere escape from destruction: we find it joined with *salv.* in *Fin.* IV 19, *Verr.* I 72.

opulentos copiosos: the latter is rather the stronger word, bearing to the former the same relation as *copia* (*co-opia*) to *ops*. Compare *Div. in Caec.* 55 *mulier copiosa et locuples.*

§ 88. **Herculi decumam**: vowed to him as god of treasures. See Macrob. *Sat.* III 12 § 2 *testatur Terentius Varro in ea satira quae inscribitur* περὶ κεραυνοῦ *majores solitos decimam Herculi vovere, nec decem dies intermittere quin pollucerent* (i.e. give a public banquet in his honour); Plut. *Sull.* 35 ἀποθύων τῆς οὐσίας ἁπάσης ὁ Σύλλας τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δεκατὴν ἑστιάσεις ἐποιεῖτο τῷ δήμῳ πολυτελεῖς, Macr. *Sat.* III 6 § 11 (quoting from the *Memorabilia* of Masurius Sabinus) *M. Octavius Herrenus...bene re gesta decimam Herculi profanavit;* Varro *L. L.* VI 54 *hinc 'profanatum' in sacrificio, atque inde Herculi decuma appellata ab eo est, quod sacrificio quodam fanatur, id est ut fani lege sit: id dicitur 'polluctum'* &c.; Plaut. *Truc.* II 7. 11 *de mina una deminui modo quinque nummos; mihi detraxi partem Herculaneam; Bacch.* IV 3. 29 *Herculem fecit ex patre: decumam partem ei dedit, sibi novem abstulit; Stich.* II 1. 80 *ut decumam partem Herculi polluceam;* Pers. II 10 *O si sub rastro crepet argenti mihi seria dextro Hercule:* Hor. *Sat.* II 6. 10 foll., Plaut. *Rud.* 425, 1419, *Curc.* 193, *Most.* 24, 972, Festus p. 237 M., Diod. IV 22, XX 14, Plut. *Qu. Rom.* c. 18, *Crassus* pp. 543 and 550, Dion. Hal. III 45, Erasm. *Adag.* s. v. '*Hercule*

dextro', Beier on *Off.* II 58. [See the inscriptions on the temple at Reate erected by Mummius from the tithe of the spoils of Corinth, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* I no. 542, and compare 541 with Mommsen's comments (Wilmanns 27 a, b): also *Corp. I. L.* I 1175 (Wilmanns 142), and 1113 (Wilmanns 43); ib. 1290, x 3956. R.]

si sapiens factus esset: the apodosis *se daturum* is understood, as in Liv. XXXI 21 *praetor aedem Diovi vovit, si eo die hostes fudisset.* See Roby § 1750.

Pythagoras: on his discovery of the proof of Euclid I 47 (that the square on the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares on the lines containing the right angle), cf. Vitr. IX *praef.* 7 *id Pythagoras cum invenisset, non dubitans se a Musis in ea inventione monitum, maximas gratias agens hostias dicitur iis immolavisse.* Diog. L. (VIII 12) cites Apollodorus as an authority for the statement and quotes an epigram on the subject; so also Athen. X p. 418. Plutarch (*Mor.* p. 1094, and p. 720 A) questions whether the offering was not made for a different theorem. Proclus in his *Comm.* on Euclid l. c. cites Eudemus as his authority. See for other reff. Zeller I p. 294 n.

ne Apollini quidem Delio: Cic. forgets that the Delian Apollo was himself a vegetarian, so that Pythagoras had no choice in the matter; cf. Diog. L. VIII 13 *βωμὸν προσκυνῆσαι (Πυθαγόραν) μόνον ἐν Δήλῳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Γενέτορος...διὰ τὸ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πόπανα μόνα τίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρός, ἱερεῖον δὲ μηδέν, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Δηλίων Πολιτείᾳ*, Theophr. ap. Porphyr. *Abstin.* II 28 *θεωρῆσαι δέ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Δῆλον ἔτι νῦν σωζομένου βωμοῦ, πρὸς ὃν οὐθένος προσαγομένου παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε θυομένου ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ζῴου, εὐσεβῶν κέκληται βωμός*, Censorin. 2 *Deli ad Apollinis genitoris aram, ut Timaeus auctor est, nemo hostiam caedit;* Clem. Al. *Strom.* VII 32, Jambl. *V. P.* § 25, Macrob. *Sat.* III 6 (citing Varro and Cloatius). The best authorities do not impute total abstinence from meat to Pyth., even Porph. *V. P.* 34 only says that he rarely partook of the sacrificial flesh, and (36) that he usually propitiated the gods with vegetable offerings, *ἐμψύχοις δὲ ἥκιστα πλὴν εἰ μή ποτε ἀλεκτορίσι καὶ τῶν χοίρων τοῖς ἁπαλωτάτοις.* He then continues, in reference to the offering here mentioned, *ἐβουθύτησε δέ ποτε σταίτινον ὥς φασὶ βοῦν οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι* (i.e. an ox of dough); so also Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 185.

quamvis licet...consecremus: 'we may dedicate temples as we will', cf. *Tusc.* IV 53 *quamvis licet insectemur istos*, *Leg.* III 24 *quamvis enumeres multos licet*, *Har. Resp.* c. 9 *quam volumus licet nos amemus*, Lucr. VI 600, 620.

haec in nobis sita: the same division of these abstract divinities is found above § 61, also II 61, 79.

ut Diogenes: see above § 83.

Dc. (6). *The truth is piety and impiety have no effect on our happiness. Witty answers of Diagoras on this point.* § 89.

Ch. XXXVII § 89. **exitus**: 'ends', cf. *Div.* II 24 *non igitur fatales exitus habuerunt* (Pompeius, Crassus, Caesar).

Diagoras: cf. I 63 n., Athenag. *Leg.* 5 Διαγόρᾳ μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἀθεότητα ἐπεκάλουν Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ μόνον τὸν Ὀρφικὸν εἰς μέσον κατατιθέντι λόγον καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ τὰ τῶν Καβείρων δημεύοντι μυστήρια καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους... κατακόπτοντι ξόανον, ἄντικρυς δὲ ἀποφαινομένῳ μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναι θεόν (this is explained by Epiphan. *Ancorat.* p. 106 οὐκ ἀκούουσι Διαγόρου τοῦ τὸν ἴδιον Ἡρακλέα ξύλινον ὄντα δι' ἀπορίαν ξύλων ὑποκαύσαντος καὶ ἐπισκωμματικῶς αὐτῷ λέγοντος, Ἄγε δὲ Ἡρακλὲς τὸν τρισκαιδέκατον ἆθλον ἐκτελῶν πάρελθε, τὸν ὄψον ἡμῖν ἑψήσων); also Lys. *Andoc.* 17 (Andocides is more impious than Diagoras) ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ περὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἱερὰ καὶ ἑορτὰς ἠσέβει, οὗτος δὲ ἔργῳ περὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ πόλει. The following anecdote is told of Diogenes the Cynic by Diog. L. VI 59.

Samothracam: the seat of the Cabeiric mysteries, see I 119 n., *Cont. Rev.* for May 1882, and Conze *Arch. Unters. auf Samothrake*, Vienna 1875. The Cabeiri were much invoked in dangers at sea, cf. Orphic Hymn 37. 4 οἵτε Σαμοθρᾴκην ἱερὴν χθόνα ναιετάοντες κινδύνους θνητῶν ἀπερύκετε ποντοπλανήτων. This custom was supposed to be handed down from the time of the Argonauts, see Diod. IX 43 and 49, also Aristoph. *Pax* 278, Clem. *Hom.* IX 17, Lobeck *Agl.* pp. 1218, 1219.

atque ei quidam: for the omission of the verb *dixisset* cf. Draeger § 116, Roby § 1441.

tabulis pictis: cf. Hor. *Od.* I 5. 13 *me tabula sacer votiva paries indicat uvida suspendisse potenti vestimenta maris deo;* Tib. I 3. 28 *nunc dea* (i.e. Isis much invoked in storms at sea) *nunc succurre mihi, nam posse mederi picta docet templis multa tabella tuis;* Juv. XII 27 (*naufragium*) *votiva testantur fana tabella plurima: pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?* ib. XIV 301 with Mayor's nn.

ita fit: 'so it happens', I 88, 121.

qui illum recepissent: 'for having taken him on board', cf. Hor. *Od.* III 2. 26 *vetabo qui Cereris sacrum vulgarit arcanae sub isdem sit trabibus fragilemve mecum solvat phaselon:* Diog. L. I 86 (Bias) συμπλέων ποτὲ ἀσεβέσι χειμαζομένης τῆς νεὼς κἀκείνων τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλουμένων, Σιγᾶτε, ἔφη, μὴ αἴσθωνται ὑμᾶς ἐνθάδε πλέοντας; Antiphon V § 82 πολλοὶ ἤδη ἄνθρωποι μὴ καθαροὶ χεῖρας ἢ ἄλλο τι μίασμα ἔχοντες, συνεισβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον συναπώλεσαν μετὰ τῆς αὑτῶν ψυχῆς τοὺς ὁσίως διακειμένους τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, Eurip. *El.* 1353, Callim. *Cer.* 117, Xen. *Cyr.* VIII 1 § 25, also the story of Jonah. [Add Lys. 6 § 19, Aesch. *Theb.* 593 seq., Theophr. *Char.* 25, Apul. *Apol.* p. 418 Oud., and the curse in *C. I. G.* III n. 5773 (*Rhein. Mus.* 1869, pp. 474—6). J. E. B. M.] According to Athen. XIII p. 611 Diagoras was shipwrecked as he was going into exile from Athens.

ad fortunam—nihil intersit: cf. II 43 *interesse ad mentis aciem.* Job, in his protest against the orthodox view of his time, utters much the same sentiment (IX 22), but in him it is the step, not to Academic agnosticism, but to a higher faith, the belief in immortality.

D c. (7). *Intentional neglect is a great fault in a ruler, and in a Divine Ruler all neglect must be intentional.* § 90.

§ 90. **inquit**: cf. I 109 n., also I 87, Reid on *Ac.* II 79 *dicit.* Forchhammer, who denies this use of the 3rd person (p. 43 foll.), would read *inquitis.* It appears to me here a natural politeness to avoid the appearance of directly controverting the person addressed; and in this particular case (as we saw above § 86) the argument was not really employed by Balbus.

quid est simile: 'where is the parallel?' see above §§ 9, 15, 70, *Div.* II 108.

scientes: the argument is 'kings knowingly overlooking a fault are greatly to blame; (if they do so in ignorance it is a different thing;) but the very plea of ignorance is denied to the gods', i.e. it is an *a priori* absurdity which needs no discussion.

D c. (8). *It is argued that vice is punished in the descendants of the guilty person: what should we say of such justice in a human ruler?* § 90.

Ch. XXXVIII. **praeclare**: ironical, like *praeclara* in § 40, 73.

istius modi: qualifying *legis.*

ut condemnaretur filius: see above § 15 nn. and compare the Second Commandment 'unto the 3rd and 4th generation' and the execution of the innocent descendants of Saul at the request of the Gibeonites, with the later teaching of Ezekiel XVIII 20 'the soul that sinneth it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son', Jerem. XXXI 29, Job XXI 19: also Homer *Il.* IV 160 εἴπερ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσεν, ἔκ δὲ καὶ ὀψὲ τελεῖ, σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν σὺν σφῇσιν κεφαλῇσι γυναιξί τε καὶ τεκέεσσιν, Solon XIII 25 Bergk τοιαύτη Ζηνὸς πέλεται τίσις, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ, ὥσπερ θνητὸς ἀνήρ, γίγνεται ὀξύχολος· αἰεὶ δ' οὔ ἑ λέληθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρὸν θυμὸν ἔχῃ, πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἐξεφάνη· ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν αὐτίκ' ἔτισεν, ὃ δ' ὕστερον· εἰ δὲ φύγωσιν αὐτοί, μηδὲ θεῶν μοῖρ' ἐπιοῦσα κίχῃ, ἤλυθε πάντως αὖθις· ἀναίτιοι ἔργα τίνουσιν ἢ παῖδες τούτων ἢ γένος ὧν ὀπίσω, Plut. *S. N. V.* p. 557 with Wyttenbach's n., Hor. *Od.* III 6 *delicta majorum immeritus lues Romane*, Mayor on Juv. XIII 206. Dionysius Hal. VIII 20 says it was a principle of Roman, as distinguished from Greek law, not to punish the children for the crimes of their parents, but that this had been forgotten in the Civil Wars, νεμεσητὸν θεοῖς ἔργον. [Add Plato *Leg.* 949 B, Isocr. *Paneg.* § 157, Sen. *Ben.* III 27 § 2, Plut. *Solon* 24, Plin. *Paneg.* 64 § 3, Dio LXXIV 2 § 1, Schöm. *Gr. Alterth.* II 254, Preller-Jordan *R. Myth.* I^3 256. J. E. B. M.]

quinam—paretur: 'what measure can be found?' = τίς ἂν γένοιτο; implying a wish. Charisius I p. 70 cites the lines as by Attius: they are probably from the *Thyestes.*

internecioni: occurs in Attius (l. 451 Ribbeck), common in Caesar and Cic.

poenis luendis: 'when will vengeance grow weary of exacting penalties for the death of Myrtilus?' 'when will the blood-feud come to an end?' lit. 'when will weariness of vengeance be given to (i.e. dawn upon) the paying of penalties for the death of Myrtilus?' Cf. the expressions *dat finem miseriis* Att. 293 Ribb., *finis curai datur* ib. 577; or should we rather take *poen. lu.* as the Abl. of Manner, 'by the exaction of penalties'? For the subject matter cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1545 (Clytemnestra's words of the *δαίμων Πλεισθενιδᾶν*, the *παλαιὸς δριμὺς ἀλάστωρ Ἀτρέως*).

Myrtili: Oenomaus having promised to give his daughter Hippodamia to the suitor who should conquer him in the chariot race, Pelops bribed his charioteer Myrtilus the son of Hermes to loosen the pin in the wheel of his master's chariot. This being done the chariot was upset and Oenomaus killed. Pelops journeying home with Hippodamia and Myrtilus threw the latter into the sea in order to avoid paying what he had promised. The subsequent calamities of the house of Pelops were attributed to the dying curse of Myrtilus, Eurip. *Orest.* 982—1010, Soph. *El.* 504 *ὦ Πέλοπος ἁ πρόσθεν πολύπονος ἱππεία ὡς ἔμολες αἰανὴ τᾷδε γᾷ. εὖτε γὰρ ὁ ποντισθεὶς Μύρτιλος ἐκοιμάθη...οὔ τί πω ἔλιπεν ἐκ τοῦδ' οἴκου πολύπονος αἰκία* (see above § 68 *agnum* n.).

§ 91. **utrum poetae—dixerim**: 'I should find it hard to determine whether the poets led the Stoics astray, or the Stoics added their sanction to the poets'. The Stoic arguments on this subject were probably such as we read in Plut. l. c. pp. 557—560. Many exx. of the descendants suffering for the sins of their ancestors are given ib. pp. 556, 557, among them the mocking justification made by Agathocles for ravaging Corcyra, 'because the Phaeacians had shown hospitality to Ulysses, the enemy of Sicily'.

portenta: see I 18. **flagitia**: I 66.

D c. (9). *We need not have recourse to the Deity to explain such moral government as actually exists in the world. It is simply a result of the laws of human nature.* § 91.

(Cicero has cut down his original so much as to obscure the force of his illustrations. Apparently the deaths of the offenders against Archilochus and Hipponax must have been attributed by some Stoic to the vengeance of the gods. Cotta argues that no external cause is needed; they are sufficiently explained by wounded feeling.)

Hipponax: of Ephesus, the inventor of the 'limping' iambic (*Iambus scazon* or *Choliambus*) in which the last foot of the *senarius* was changed to a trochee or spondee, the fifth foot being always an iambus, flourished in the latter half of the 6th century B.C. He was notorious for the bitter satires with which he revenged himself on the sculptors Bupalus and Athenis, 'who had caricatured his natural ugliness', see Hor. *Epod.* cited

below. Cicero calls a biting satire *Hipponacteum praeconium* (*Fam.* VII 24), and says that in ordinary prose it is scarcely possible to avoid *senarios et Hipponacteos* i.e. the scazon (*Orator* 189).

Archilochus: of Paros, fl. 700 B.C., inventor of the proper iambic metre, famed for his satirical power. It is said that this was so deeply felt by the daughters of Lycambes, who had promised one of them in marriage to Arch. and afterwards failed to keep his word, that they hanged themselves through shame, cf. Hor. *Epod.* VI 13 *qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener, aut acer hostis Bupalo*, *A. P.* 79 *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo*, *Epist.* I 19. 31.

conceptum: 'derived from', 'contracted from', so we have *conc. morbum* Colum. VII 5 § 14, *conc. dedecus* Cic. *Off.* I 123, *conc. ignem*, *Or.* II 190 *ex quo si qua macula concepta est*, *Rosc. Am.* 66.

continebat: 'nursed', cf. *Post red. ad Qu.* 1 *quod odium scelerati homines...in omnes bonos conceptum jam diu continerent; Cluent.* 34 *spes illa quam mulier commendatam a viro in alvo continebat.*

a deo causam: for the murder of Agamemnon or the overthrow of Troy. They are not examples of long delayed punishment for ancestral crime, but the effects of much simpler causes.

culpae paene vocem: 'guilt cries aloud'. [Cf. Solin. 21 (of the son of Croesus) *vox timoris*, Cic. *Phil.* 2 § 17 (with Koch's n.) *voce paene litterarum*, and *vociferor* in Lucr. J. E. B. M.]

Hippocrate: 'I ascribe those cures we hear of rather to Hipp. the father of medicine (fl. 400 B.C.) than to Aesculapius'; cf. above § 57.

Lacedaemoniorum: 'I will never allow that Sparta received her rule of life from Apollo rather than Lycurgus', see § 57 on Νόμιον.

Critolaus: one is tempted to follow Allen in repeating the name ('yes, Critolaus, I say') which would explain the use of *inquam*; see the long list of similar repetitions in Merguet's *Lex. Cic.* vol. II p. 713. But perhaps we may understand it simply as enforcing the general principle, that good and evil come not from God, but from man: 'it was Critolaus, I repeat, that ruined Corinth'. He was general of the Achaean League in 147 B.C., succeeded in inflaming his countrymen against Rome, was defeated by Metellus, praetor of Macedonia, near Thermopylae and never heard of more. His successor Diaeus refused all terms and was utterly defeated by Mummius, who sacked and destroyed Corinth in 146 B.C.; cf. Cic. *Off.* I 36, *Fam.* IV 5, *Flor.* II 16.

Hasdrubal: the general of Carthage in the 3rd Punic War. By entering into the conflict with Massinissa and by his cruelty towards the Roman captives he may be said to have brought about the ruin of his country in the same year in which Corinth fell. The two events are brought together in *R. P.* II 7 *nec vero ulla res magis labefactatam diu et Carthaginem et Corinthum pervertit aliquando quam hic error ac dissipatio civium, quod mercandi cupiditate et navigandi et agrorum et armorum cultum reliquerant.*

oculos—effoderunt: cf. Paterc. II 52 (of Pharsalia) *collisa inter se duo rei publicae capita, effossumque alterum Romani imperii lumen;* Cic. *Manil.* 11 *Corinthum patres vestri, totius Graeciae lumen, exstinctum esse voluerunt.* The metaphor was used by Leptines in his address to the Athenians in behalf of Sparta after the defeat at Leuctra, *οὐκ ἐᾶν περιιδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑτερόφθαλμον γενομένην* (Arist. *Rhet.* III 10), and, according to the Schol. August. ad Dem. *F. L.* p. 361, had been previously used of Athens by the Phocian deputies against the Thebans at the end of the Peloponnesian war, *μὴ ἑτερόφθαλμον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιῆσαι, αἰνιττόμενοι δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς εἶναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τήν τε Ἀθηναίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων*, cf. Justin v 8, Aristid. *Leuctr.* p. 639 Dind. Hegesias employed the same metaphor about Athens and Thebes in the time of Alexander, see Spengel on Arist. l. c. and cf. Milton *P. R.* IV 240 'Athens, the eye of Greece'. [Julian Epist. 24 calls Damascus *τὸν τῆς ἑώας ἁπάσης ὀφθαλμόν*. Add Oros. II 17 (of Athens and Sparta), Liban. I 531 Reiske (of Athens), Val. Max. IV. 33 (of Augustus and Tiberius). For *ἑτερόφθαλμος* see Diod. Sic. XII 17 § 4, Tzetz. *Chil.* IX 97, Dorville on Chariton p. 580. J. E. B. M.] Hirzel (p. 243) remarks that the compassionate tone in which Cic. speaks of the fall of Carthage, as contrasted with the language used in *Off.* I 35 (*majores nostri Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt: nollem Corinthum, sed credo aliquid secutos, opportunitatem loci maxime* &c.), is an evidence that he is here copying from Clitomachus the Carthaginian, who, as we learn from *Tusc.* V 54, *eversa Carthagine librum misit consolandi causa ad captivos cives suos.*

aliqui—deus: the adjectival pronoun, as in *Acad.* II 19 *si deus aliqui requirat*, *Tusc.* I 23 *deus aliqui viderit;* but in *Lael.* 87 (*aliquis deus*), *Fam.* XIV 7 § 1, *Acad.* II 61, we have the substantival pronoun in apposition. MSS have *deum*, defended by Wopkens and Allen as an attraction similar to that in *Leg.* III 12 *haec est quam Scipio laudat temperationem rei publicae* (on which see Kruger's *Unters.* § 79); but there it is the bare predicative noun which is attracted; I doubt whether an instance could be found in Cic. of the attraction of the subject, leaving its epithets unchanged in their original case.

D c. (10). *According to the Stoics, God, being incapable of anger, cannot inflict punishment. But why does he not interfere to protect the good? You have proved his omnipotence: it must be either the will or the knowledge, which is wanting.* § 92.

irasci negatis: cf. *Off.* III 102 *hoc quidem commune est omnium philosophorum—numquam nec irasci deum nec nocere;* Sen. *Ira* II 27 § 1 *quaedam sunt quae nocere non possunt, nullamque vim nisi beneficam et salutarem habent, ut di immortales, qui nec volunt obesse nec possunt. Natura enim illis mitis et placida est, tam longe remota ab aliena injuria quam a sua;* Lactant. *Ira* V 1 *existimantur Stoici aliquanto melius de divinitate*

sensisse, qui aiunt gratiam in Deo esse, iram non esse; of which he says *speciose ista populariterque dicuntur*, but *qui bonos diligit, et malos odit;* 'therefore the Epicureans, who deny both *gratia* and *ira* on the part of God (see above I 45 n.), are more logical than the Stoics'. But the Stoics, and still more Plato, in his noble assertion of the Divine beneficence, even in punishment (*Rep.* II 379, 380), approach more nearly to the teaching of the Bible, as expressed in the words of the Collect for Good Friday ('O merciful God, who hast made all men and hatest nothing that thou hast made'), than Lactantius does.

Ch. XXXIX § 92. **subvenire certe potuit**: (if he is incapable of anger) 'still he might at least have preserved such cities'.

sine labore ullo: cf. II 59 *molientium cum labore*, and I 22 n.

ut moveantur: Subj. because subordinate in oblique narration, cf. above § 69 *quem ad modum fiat.*

ut enim hominum membra: Sch. compares *Div.* I 120 *si animal omne, ut vult, ita utitur motu sui corporis prono, obliquo, supino, membraque quocumque vult flectit, contorquet, porrigit, contrahit, eaque ante efficit paene quam cogitat, quanto id deo est facilius cujus numini parent omnia!* Lucr. III 144 *corpus paret et ad numen mentis momenque movetur;* Lact. *Opif.* 7 *nervi quibus mens—minimo nutu totius corporis molem temperat ac flectit.*

neque id dicitis superstitiose...sed physica constantique ratione: for *phys. rat.* cf. II 23 and 63, in which latter it is contrasted with *superstitio*, as also in *Div.* I 126, II 48. For *const.* ('consistent, well-reasoned theory') cf. *Sest.* 87 *simplex causa, constans ratio* and *Off.* I 144 *oratione constanti* ('a coherent speech' Holden). [*Aniliter* marked by Lewis and Short as ἅπαξ λεγ. Add Lact. II 4 § 4, Ambros. *Fid. Res.* 106. J. E. B. M.]

materiam—commutabilem: cf. Sext. Emp. X. 312 *ἐξ ἀποίου μὲν οὖν καὶ ἑνὸς σώματος τὴν τῶν ὅλων ὑπεστήσαντο γένεσιν οἱ Στωικοί· ἀρχὴ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων κατ' αὐτούς ἐστιν ἡ ἄποιος ὕλη καὶ δι' ὅλων τρεπτή· μεταβαλλούσης τε ταύτης γίνεται τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ καὶ ἀήρ, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ.* Sch. cites *Ac.* I 27 *subjectam putant (veteres Academici) omnibus sine ulla specie atque carentem omni qualitate materiam quandam, ex qua omnia expressa atque efficta sint: quae tota omnia accipere possit, omnibusque modis mutari atque ex omni parte* &c., see Reid *in loc.* A similar argument was used in support of divination, cf. *Div.* I 118 foll., II 35 foll.

fictricem: the only other ex. cited is from Tert. *Res. Carn.* 16.

[**moderatricem**: used by Plautus and several times by Cic. also by Statius, Augustine, Rufin., Clem. *Recog.* VIII 22. J. E. B. M.]

aut nescit quid possit aut: the argument appears to be 'the Deity is proved to have power and assumed to have goodness, yet it fails to use that power so as to prevent these calamities; therefore it must either be ignorant of its power, or indifferent to human affairs, or incapable of judging what is best'. Apparently the 1st and 3rd alternatives are tacitly negatived, the 2nd only being discussed. We may compare the alternatives in II 77 and in *Div.* II 101. Lactantius (*Ira* 13 § 20) puts the alterna-

tives more clearly, *Deus aut vult tollere mala et non potest, aut potest et non vult, aut neque vult neque potest, aut et vult et potest.*

Dc. (11). *You allow that God does not care for individuals. What ground is there for believing that he cares for communities, or even for mankind as a whole?* § 93.

§ 93. **non curat singulos homines**: 'you say, God does not trouble himself about individuals'; but in II 165 it is distinctly asserted *separatim ab universis singulos diligit;* compare the descending *sorites* there with the ascending *sorites* here. Other Stoics however held that individual good was not in itself the object of the deity but that it was necessarily involved in his true object, the general good, cf. M. Ant. cited on II 64 and Seneca *N. Q.* II 46 *singulis non adest Juppiter*, Zeller III 1 p. 163. The saying in II 167 *magna di curant, parva neglegunt* (on which see III 85) comes to much the same thing.

non mirum: the Academic comment, 'I am not surprised at it; he does not even care for cities (such as Corinth and Carthage); and if he does not care for them, why should he care for nations and races' (such as the Greeks or Phoenicians)?

contemnet: logical future, 'if it shall prove that he despises them', cf. Roby § 1465.

Dc. (12). *Yet you are inconsistent enough to believe in divination and to encourage the practice of vows.* § 93.

idem dicitis, idem: 'how is it consistent in you to say that the Gods do not attend to details, and yet to hold that they distribute dreams to men?' cf. II 162, 163, 166, *Div.* I 39 foll. For *persequi* see above § 86.

haec tecum: Cic. would seem to have forgotten that Balbus himself had touched on divination by dreams (II 163); otherwise it would have been unnecessary to state that it was generally credited by the Stoics (*vestra*).

vota suscipi: 'that men should take vows on themselves': cf. Seneca *N. Q.* II 37 *nos quoque existimamus vota proficere, salva vi ac potestate fatorum: quaedam enim a dis immortalibus ita suspensa sunt, ut in bonum vertant, si admotae dis preces fuerint, si vota suscepta.*

nempe: 'of course it is by individuals that vows are made'. *Nempe* here introduces the minor premiss.

audit de singulis: abbreviated for *de rebus singulorum.*

Dc. (13). *If all your unemployed deities were turned to proper account, there need have been no neglect in the government of the universe.* § 93.

fac esse distentam: as the Epicureans affirmed of the Stoic deity, I 24 and 51. [See on *distineri* Staveren on Nepos XXV 9 § 4. J. E. B. M.]

terram tuentem, maria moderantem: notice alliteration.

nihil agere et cessare: see I 102 of the Epicurean gods.

qui—innumerabiles explicati sunt: 'whom your theory admits in such numbers'; cf. above § 23 *stellae quas tu innumerabiles reponebas.* As explained in II 59—71, the various gods of the Stoics are all manifestations of the one supreme Deity. Chrysippus in his 3rd book *de Substantia*, cited by Plut. *Sto. Rep.* p. 1051, suggested that some of the evils of life might be accounted for by the mistakes of subordinate spirits (*δαιμόνια*), cf. Plato *Symp.* p. 202 E *πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ. Τίνα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, δύναμιν ἔχοντα; Ἑρμηνεῦον καὶ διαπορθμεῦον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, τῶν μὲν τὰς δεήσεις καὶ θυσίας, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάξεις τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν θυσιῶν, κ.τ.λ.*, Cels. ap. Orig. VII p. 377 *ὅτι περ ἂν ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις εἴτε θεοῦ ἔργον εἴτ' ἀγγέλων εἴτε ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἴτε ἡρώων, πάντα ταῦτα ἔχει νόμον ἐκ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τέτακται δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δύναμιν λαχών, ὅστις ἠξίωται.* The belief in such subordinate agencies was widely prevalent at this time; as we may gather from the words of the centurion in St Luke VII 7, 8.

dicere habui: cf. I 63 n.

explicatus haberet: periphrastic for *explicaretur*, cf. I 45 *venerationem habet.* No other ex. of the word in this sense is given.

Conclusion. Cotta is to be understood not as pronouncing a definite sentence, but contributing to a discussion. Cicero avows his personal preference for the Stoic view. §§ 94, 95.

Ch. XL § 94. **Cotta finem**: cf. *Fin.* IV 1 *quae cum dixisset, finem ille;* ib. II 17 *tum ille, finem, inquit, interrogandi, si videtur;* see Madv. on *Fin.* I 9 *quem quidem locum.*

rationem quae—constituta est: 'the reverent and well-considered doctrine of the Stoics on the subject of divine Providence', cf. *Div.* I 117 *ea ratio quae est de natura deorum* ('theology'); *Verr.* I 10 *ut omnem rationem salutis in pecunia constitueret.* The recurrence *providentia—providentissime* seems to be merely accidental.

dabis: Fut. for Imper. 'you must give us', cf. I 59, III 41 *tu reddes, Att.* XII 22 § 2 *scribes ad me cum scies*, Roby § 1589.

quoniam advesperascit: the same phrase occurs *Fin.* IV 80.

pro aris et focis: so *Catil.* IV 24, *Att.* VII 11 § 3, Sallust *Cat.* 59, Liv. V 30, Gell. XIX 9 § 8, &c. The Greeks do not seem to have had any corresponding phrase.

muris quos sanctos esse dicitis: cf. *Instit.* II 1 § 10 *sanctae quoque res, veluti muri et portae, quodam modo divini iuris sunt...ideo autem muros sanctos dicimus, quia poena capitis constituta sit in eos, qui aliquid in muros deliquerint*, where Schrader compares Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 27 (discussing the reasons of their sacredness, see Wyttenb. *in loc.*), *Romul.* 11, Dionys. Hal. I 88, Festus s. v. *rituales.* Special religious ceremonies were needed for the extension of the *pomerium.*

diligentius religione quam moenibus: cf. Heracl. fr. 100 Byw. *μάχεσθαι χρὴ τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ὅκως ὑπὲρ τείχεος*, *Acad.* II 137 *haec tibi* (the Stoic doctrines) *tam sunt defendenda quam moenia.*

§ 95. **opto redargui**: "the Inf. is said not to be found with *opto* in Caesar and Sallust (Draeg. II). The only other instance of its use in Cic. appears to be *Fam.* x 20 § 3. Merguet gives two exx. of *optatum* with the Inf." Hirschfelder *Phil. Wochenschrift* 1882, no. 12.

quippe: ironical, 'O yes (there can't be a doubt of his convincing you), when he even believes that dreams come from Jove'; cf. *Fin.* IV 7 *ista ipsa...a te quidem apte ac rotunde. Quippe; habes enim a rhetoribus; Murena* 74 *ergo condemnetur; quippe, inquit;* Holden on *Planc.* 53; *Leg.* I 4 *intellego te frater alias in historia leges observandas putare, alias in poemate. M. Quippe; cum in illa ad veritatem cuncta referantur,* where see Dumesnil.

somnia ab Jove: Hom. *Il.* I 63 *καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν*, Pers. II 56, Cic. *Div.* II 121 foll., above I 46 n. on *occurrit.* [Chrysippus wrote a treatise on dreams, as we learn from *Div.* I 6. Swainson.]

levia: with a double meaning, (1) of the unsubstantial nature of dreams, (2) of the groundlessness of the Stoic theology.

haec cum essent dicta, ita discessimus: 'the conversation ended here and we parted, the upshot being that' &c.

ad veritatis similitudinem: the hesitation of the Academic is opposed to the certitude of the Epicurean (*verior*). The Stoic disputant in *Div.* I 9 repeats this as *ad veritatem propensior.* There seems to be no other example of this impersonal use of *propensus.*

NOTES ON THE FRAGMENTS.

1. THE first and second fragments are given in Lambinus' edition. The former might naturally introduce section C of Book III, where Cicero criticizes the Stoic argument in proof of the Providential government of the universe. For the caution to be observed in theological discussion cf. I 61 n.

2. This fragment is interesting as bringing distinctly forward the question whether God is a Creator, in the strict sense of the term, or merely a Builder and Architect, employing preexisting matter to frame the world which we see. Compare on this subject Mosheim's dissertation contained in Cudworth vol. 3 p. 140 foll. He maintains that even the Neo-Platonists never conceived of matter in itself as an actual creation, but rather as a coeternal shadow or emanation of Deity. Cf. Theodoret *Graec. Aff.* p. 63 l. 44 ξυνυπάρχειν τῷ Θεῷ τὴν ὕλην καὶ οὗτος (Plato) ἔφησε, καθὰ καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ τῆς Ποικίλης ἐπώνυμοι. The argumentation of this passage would suggest that it was a moot point whether pure matter, the ἄποιος ὕλη itself, was not made by the Creator, as well as the world which proceeded out of it. The Stoics, while maintaining the eternity of matter, identified God with a particular form of matter, the Artistic Fire, into which all other forms of matter were merged in the cyclic conflagration, and out of which the Cosmos was periodically evolved. This forms the subject of section Cc in Book II, cf. II 75 *providentia deorum mundum et omnes mundi partes et initio constitutas esse et omni tempore administrari*, and below *ab animantibus principiis eam* (*naturam*) *esse generatam*, with the note. Hence Zeno spoke of fire not merely as *artificiosus*, but as *artifex* (II 57). We may understand therefore that, while the Stoics would shrink from speaking of the creation of matter, since God himself was material, they would have no objection to speak of the different elements as created. Cotta is here endeavouring to show the inconsistency of the two beliefs by means of his favorite *sorites*. 'You agree that the Divine Architect, like the human archi-

tect, must have had some material to work on, and that this material must have had properties of its own; similarly we may assume that, when he made plants and animals, he must have had, as his material, the four elements of which they are compounded'. Lactantius distinctly denies the first assumption (II 8 § 8), *nemo quaerat ex quibus ista materiis tam magna, tam mirifica opera Deus fecerit. Omnia enim fecit ex nihilo; nec audiendi sunt poetae qui aiunt chaos in principio fuisse...postea vero Deum instruxisse mundum;* then, after citing this passage to show that the philosophers are no wiser than the poets, he goes on to argue that "if God did not make matter, he must be inferior to the maker of matter, which is equivalent to saying that the maker of matter is the real God! Or, if it be said that it exists by nature, then nature must be rational, but a rational and creative nature is only another name for God. Cicero's comparison ignores the difference between God and man, *nam si est aliquid ante illum, si factum est quidquam non ab illo, jam potestatem Dei et nomen amittet.* If it be said that matter is eternal, there must be two contending eternals, which is impossible, or God must be derived from matter, the rational and voluntary agent from that which is without will and consciousness &c." Cf. Theodoret p. 64 (ἡ γραφὴ) δημιουργῆσαι τὰ ξύμπαντα ἔφησε τὸν θεόν, οὐ καθάπερ οἰκοδόμοι καὶ ναυπηγοὶ καὶ χαλκοτύποι καὶ χρυσοχόοι...καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τεχνῖται τὰς ὕλας ἐρανιζόμενοι ταύτας εἰδοποιοῦσί τε καὶ διαγλύφουσι, καὶ τὰ ὄργανα παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀντιλαμβάνοντες, ἀλλ' ἅμα βουληθῆναί τε καὶ τὰ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς ὄντα παραγαγεῖν. Ἀπροσδεὴς γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεός, αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπιναι τέχναι ἀλλήλων προσδέονται.... Ὁ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ποιητὴς οὔτε ὀργάνων οὔτε ὕλης δεδέηται, also Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* VII 19—22. Besides the analogy of the human artificer, Aristotle uses the analogy of generation to prove that creation out of nothing is impossible, *Phys.* I 7 § 6 ὅτι δὲ καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἁπλῶς ὄντα ἐξ ὑποκειμένου τινὸς γίνεται, ἐπισκοποῦντι γένοιτ' ἂν φανερόν· ἀεὶ γάρ ἐστί τι ὃ ὑποκεῖται, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται τὸ γιγνόμενον, οἷον τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἐκ σπέρματος.

faber: see n. on *fabrica* II 35.

cera: sc. *utitur.*

3. This is taken from Scaurus, a Virgilian commentator of the time of Hadrian, who in his note on *Aen.* V 95, where Aeneas is represented as doubtful what to think of the snake which issued from his father's tomb (*incertus Geniumne loci famulumne parentis esse putet*), writes as follows: *erudite; nam ait ex medullis corporum angues nasci.* He then cites Persius *pinge duos angues*, and, after a short hiatus, refers to the story of Cleomenes, the reforming king of Lacedaemon, as told by Cicero. There can be no doubt that the allusion is to what is recorded in Plut. *Cleom.* 39 p. 823, of the snake which wound itself round the head of Cleomenes, as he hung on the cross, and guarded it from obscene birds. This was taken as a sign that Cl. was beloved by the gods and was himself a hero and demigod; but the wiser sort explained it by a theory ὡς μελίττας μὲν βόες, σφῆκας δὲ ἵπποι κατασαπέντες ἐξανθοῦσι, κάνθαροι δὲ ὄνων τὸ αὐτὸ παθόντων

ζῳογονοῦνται, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα σώματα, τῶν περὶ τὸν μυελὸν ἰχώρων συρροήν τινα καὶ σύστασιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λαβόντων, ὄφεις ἀναδίδωσι. Καὶ τοῦτο κατιδόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μάλιστα τῶν ζῴων τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς ἥρωσι συνῳκείωσαν. At first sight one is tempted to suppose that Cotta must have adduced the case of Cleomenes as a parallel to that of Metellus and of Drusus (*N. D.* III 81), good men abandoned to the malice of their enemies during their life and only tardily vindicated after their deaths. But the fragment in all probability belongs to the lost section C; and the remark with which Scaurus introduces his comment (*erudite, nam ait ex medullis* &c.) suggests that his quotation from Cicero must have been made for the purpose of illustrating the theory noticed by Plutarch. We have already met with allusions to spontaneous generation in II 26 (n. on *ipsa ex se generata*), and Lucretius uses this as a proof that no creator is needed (II 865 *ex insensilibus omnia principiis constare*, the opposite to Balbus' *ab animantibus principiis eam* (*naturam*) *esse generatam*, see l. 871 *quippe videre licet vivos exsistere vermes stercore de taetro* &c. and V 783 foll.). We may conclude therefore that Cotta's reference to Cleomenes formed a part of the argument by which he endeavoured to disprove the doctrine of an intelligent first cause.

4. There seems no reason why this fragment should have been bracketed by Mu. It is true that much the same words are found in *Off.* I 105, but the providential care of man is the subject of section D (cf. III 65), so that Cotta could scarcely help saying something of the kind.

5. For the *Magnus Annus* see II 51 n. This is probably a piece of carelessness on the part of Servius. We nowhere else read that it consisted of 3000 years. In the *Hortensius*, as recorded both by Serv. on *Aen.* I 269 and III 284, and by Tac. *Or.* 16, it was reckoned at 12954. Servius however (l. c.) notices the inconsistency of the two estimates of Cicero in the words (*magnum annum*) *de quo varia dicuntur a Metone et ab Eudoxo et a Ptolemaeo et ab ipso Tullio.*

6. The words of Servius are '*spirabile*'...*est sermo Ciceronis, quamquam ille* '*spiritale*' (so Thilo and Hagen with one MS C against the majority of the better MSS) *dixerit in libris de deorum natura. Spiritalem* is the reading of B in *N. D.* II 18, and though the form *spiritualis* is more regular, yet we find the former in Vitr. X 1, and possibly we ought to read it in Cicero. As for *spiritabilem*, it is read by N and Red. in II 18 (for *spirabilem* of other MSS) and by the Paris codex of the 9th century in *Tusc.* I 40, but there can be no doubt that this is merely a corruption, like *animabilis, naturabilis, morabilis, aequabilis* compared by Mu. on Tusc. l. c.

7. We naturally look to Book II 142 foll. for this description of the eyes, but nothing of the kind is said there. We only read that the ears have *duros et quasi corneolos introitus*, but this has no reference to the resistance of cold. Possibly Cotta may have examined in detail the Stoic panegyric on the wisdom shown in the structure of the body, and in doing so remarked on this supposed use of the cornea.

Baiter, following Davies, gives two other fragments, one from Nonius p. 96 on the use of the word *dulcitudo*, but the reference in Non. should be *Orat.* III 97; the other from Arnobius III 6, which gives an interesting account of the feeling of the Pagans towards Cicero's dialogue, but contains no quotation from it. Creuzer refers to a *Codex Scorialensis*, bearing the title *Ciceronis Fragmenta de natura deorum et divinatione*, which is mentioned in Büsching's *Magazin für die neueste Historie und Geographie* vol. V p. 123.

APPENDIX ON THE MYTHOLOGICAL SECTION. (§§ 41—60.)

THE mythological summary given by Cicero diverges in many particulars from the ordinary tradition, but is in remarkable agreement with what we find in four later writings, the *Protrepticon* of Clemens Alexandrinus (fl. 200 A. D.), the *Liber Memorialis* of Ampelius (fl. 250 A. D.?), the *Disputationes adversus Gentes* of Arnobius (fl. 300 A. D.), the *De Mensibus* of Laurentius Lydus (b. 490 A. D.). Are we to suppose that these writers borrowed from Cicero or from Cicero's authority Clitomachus, or was there some earlier common source? There is no sign that Clemens was acquainted with the works of Cicero or even that he had any knowledge of Latin literature; moreover he cites as his authorities, under the head of Apollo, Aristotle and Didymus, and adds particulars which we do not find in Cicero, e.g. that the 4th Apollo was son of Silenus, that some writers made a 5th and 6th Apollo, that the 4th Minerva was called Coryphasia and that the mother of the 5th was Titanis. On the other hand it is probable that the remaining three had some knowledge of Cicero. Lydus quotes from his Verrine orations and had a fair acquaintance with Latin literature, especially with the writings of Varro; but he too cites other authorities, e.g. Terpander for the 1st Dionysus, 'the poets' for the others, Melias, Crates, Eratosthenes, Eumelus, under Zeus. Again in many respects he diverges from Cicero; thus, besides assigning a different parentage for the 3rd, 4th and 5th Hercules, he names a 7th, son of Zeus and Maia. Moreover his references to mythology are scattered up and down his book, which is on the model of Ovid's *Fasti*, and can hardly have been picked out from this section of Cicero. Arnobius probably copied from Cicero, as he often quotes from the

N. D. and agrees with Cic. in each case as to the number of synonymous deities, in fact only departs from him in making Hyperiona the mother of Sol, and in his description of the 3rd and 4th Minerva, making the 3rd the inventress of arms and daughter of Saturn (instead of Jupiter), and the 4th the Coryphasia of the Messenians instead of Coria the inventress of chariots. In the account of Sol the divergence may be explained by simple carelessness, in that of Minerva he has followed the *Protrepticon* of Clemens, which seems to have been one of the chief sources of his book. It must be observed however that in another passage (III 37 cited in the note on *Musae* § 54) he refers to Mnaseas, Ephorus, Myrtilus and Crates as authorities. Lastly Ampelius, whose treatise is an epitome of the poorest type, follows on the whole the order of Cicero, but has the most extraordinary divergences, introducing such names as Granicus, Joab, Crio, Joppe, which can hardly be explained away by the corrupt state of the text: and there are besides signs that he follows a Greek original. Thus the names *Cronus Cronia* are plainly Greek, and the phrase *Jovis Aetheris filius* seems to be a mistranslation of Διὸς τοῦ Αἰθέρος. He also adds further details, e.g. that Hercules founded the Olympian games (cf. Diodorus quoted on *Idaeis Digitis* § 42 n.), that he taught Atlas, that the mother of the 5th Minerva was Titanis; and even brings in a deity, omitted by Cicero, viz. Mars. Also in common with the other parallel writers he is silent as to Pan being the child of Penelope and Mercury (§ 56), and as to the names of the Muses and Dioscuri (§§ 53, 54).

From the above considerations it would seem that the four parallel writers must have had access to some other authority besides Cicero: was this authority Clitomachus? I think we may say this is impossible in the case of all but Clemens, and not very probable even in his case. If however we compare certain other authors who are to some extent in agreement with Cicero, where he departs from the ordinary tradition, I think we shall find indications of an earlier common source from which the tradition was derived both by Clitomachus and by the later epitomists. Among these authors are Servius, the Virgilian commentator, and Lactantius Placidus, the scholiast on Statius, in regard to three out of Cicero's five Mercuries. The latter names a certain Corvilius as his authority. Athenaeus (quoted on § 42 *Asteriae*) names Eudoxus as authority for the statement that Hercules was son of Jupiter and Asteria. The contest between Apollo and Jupiter (§ 57) is said by Fulgentius to have been

narrated by Mnaseas in the 3rd book of his *Europa*. Harpocration cites Mnaseas for the statement that Minerva, daughter of Coryphe, daughter of Oceanus, was the inventress of chariots. Tzetzes and Firmicus agree in the story of Minerva slaying her father Pallas. The Orphic hymns illustrate the names Eubuleus, Tritopatreus, Anactes. As Mnaseas is mentioned by three different writers, Arnobius, Harpocration and Fulgentius, as the source from whom they have borrowed, and as he is a noted Euhemerist of the Alexandrian school, the evidence, so far as it goes, seems to point to him as the mythologist followed by Clitomachus, i.e. by Carneades.

As regards Cicero's summary, it is evidently very incomplete. He omits from his list the names Juno, Ceres, Neptunus, Mars, Pluto, Hecate, Pan, Rhea, Proserpina. He sometimes passes over the common tradition, as that which makes Dionysus son of Semele: he omits to note real differences, such as that between his three Cupids and the primaeval Eros, or between the Greek and the Ephesian Diana; aud makes distinctions where there are none, as in the case of Aesculapius, Mercurius and Minerva. The frequent references to Egypt, the paternity of Nilus in the case of five deities, the names Theuth and Phthas and the ineffable name of Mercurius would seem to indicate an Alexandrine origin, while the references to mystic rites suggest a connexion with the Orphic theology.

In the comparative view, which follows, square brackets denote that the statement made is not given in that particular place by Cicero, but supplied from another part of his summary.

CICERO

Name of Divinity	*Parents*	*Other Relations*	*Country*	*Miscellaneous*
Hercules α (Cic. N. D. III 41)	Jupiter α + Lysithoe			contended with Apollo for tripod
β	Nilus		Egypt	composed the 'Phrygian Letters'
γ				one of the Idaean Dactyls worshipped with funeral rites (at Cos?)
δ	Jupiter + Asteria (sister of Latona)	d. Karthago	Tyre	
ε			India	also called Belus
ζ	Jupiter γ + Alcmena			
Jupiter α (N. D. III 53)	Aether	[wife, Proserpina; children, Dioscuri α, Diana α, Dionysus α, see below]	Arcadia	
β	Caelus	child, Minerva γ [Muses α]	Arcadia	
γ	Saturnus	[children, Hercules ζ, Dioscuri β, Musae β, Vulcanus γ, Mercurius γ, Apollo γ, Diana β]	Creta	tomb shown in Crete
Dioscuri α (N.D. III 53)	Jupiter α + Proserpina		Athens	also named Anactes, viz. Tritopatreus, Eubuleus, Dionysus
β	Jupiter γ + Leda			Castor and Pollux
γ	Atreus, s. of Pelops			Alco, Melampus, Eviolus

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF OTHER MYTHOLOGISTS

Ampelius	Lydus *De Mensibus*	Arnobius, Clemens Alexandrinus
Lib. Mem. c. 9. § 12. Hercules sex: primus Jovis Aetheris filius (*filii*, W.); secundus Nili filius, quem principem colunt Aegyptii; tertium conditorem loci (*ludi*, Duk.) sui Hellenes (*Elei*, Duk.); quartus Cronii (*Gromi*, MSS) filius et Cartheres, [1]quem Carthaginienses colunt[1], unde Carthago dicta est; quintus Joab (*Libani*[2], W.) filius, qui cum rege Medorum pugnavit; sextus Jovis filius ex Alcumena, qui Atlanta docuit (*athla docuit*, Halm. *Atlanta domuit*, Roth). [1] Should this clause be put after *quartus*? [2] Following Lydus.	IV 46. p. 94. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἱστοριῶν εὑρίσκομεν ἑπτὰ Ἡρακλεῖς γενέσθαι, πρῶτον Διὸς τοῦ Αἰθέρος καὶ Λυσιθόης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ, δεύτερον Νείλου παῖδα, τρίτον Ἕλληνος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ νύμφης Ἀγχιάλης, τέταρτον Διὸς καὶ Θήβης τῆς Αἰγυπτίας, πέμπτον Λιβάνου καὶ Νύσης τὸν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς γενόμενον, ἕκτον Διὸς καὶ Ἀλκμήνης, ἕβδομον Διὸς καὶ Μαίας τῆς Ἄτλαντος.	Arnob. IV 13—15. [The multiplication of synonymous gods has been sufficiently shown by both Greek and Latin authors from whom we briefly borrow.] Aiunt idem theologi quattuor esse Vulcanos, et tres Dianas, Aesculapios totidem, et Dionysos quinque, ter binos Hercules, et quattuor Veneres, tria genera Castorum, totidemque Musarum, pinnatorum Cupidinum trigas, et quadrigas Apollinarium nominum: quorum similiter genitores, similiter matres, loca quibus nati sunt, indicant, et originem singulorum suis cum prosapiis monstrant. [This will be referred to as the 'Summary'.]
§ 1. Joves fuere tres. Primus in Arcadia, Aetheris filius, cui etiam Aetherius cognomen fuit: hic primum Solem procreavit. Secundus ibidem (MSS *abide*, edd. *abinde*, al. *ab Ida*) in Arcadia, qui Saturnius cognominatur, qui ex Proserpina Liberum patrem procreavit primum victorum (MSS *victoriam*). Tertius Cretae, Saturni et Opis filius, optimus maximusque est appellatus.	c. 48. p. 95. τινὲς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἡρωικὸν καὶ μεριστὸν λόγον[1] τρεῖς Δίας εἶναι βούλονται, ἕνα μὲν Αἰθέρος, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τεχθῆναι, ἐξ οὗ φασὶν Ἀθηνᾶν, τρίτον δὲ τὸν Κρῆτα. [He then goes on to speak of the Phoenician tradition, and of those recorded by Melias, Crates, Eratosthenes, Eumelus the Corinthian, &c., which do not supply any illustration, and then continues] τῆς δὲ Κόρης πατέρα αὐτόν φασι, τουτέστι τοῦ κόρου καὶ τῆς εὐωχίας αἴτιον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι. [1] i.e. the Euhemerist theory which splits up the deity into a number of heroes.	ib. Aiunt theologi vestri et vetustatis absconditae conditores tres in rerum natura Joves esse: ex quibus unus Aethero fit patre progenitus, alter Caelo, tertius vero Saturno apud insulam Cretam et sepulturae traditus et procreatus. Clem. Al. *Protr.* § 28. αὐτίκα γοῦν εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς τοὺς Ζῆνας ἀναγράφουσιν, τὸν μὲν Αἰθέρος ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, τὼ δὲ λοιπὼ τοῦ Κρόνου παῖδε· τούτοιν τὸν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, θάτερον δὲ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πάλιν.
		See above in Summary.

Name of Divinity	*Parents*	*Other Relations*	*Country*	*Miscellaneous*
Musae α (N. D. III 54)	Jupiter β			4, viz. Thelxinoe, Aoede, Arche, Melete
β	Jupiter γ + Mnemosyne			9
γ	Pierus + Antiope			9 synonymous with β
Sol α (N. D. III 54)	Jupiter α			
β	Hyperion			
γ	Vulcanus β (son of Nilus)		Egypt	patron of Heliopolis
δ	m. Acantho (?)	children, Ialysus, Camirus, Lindus (?)	Rhodes	
ε		children, Aeeta, Circe	Colchis	
Vulcanus α (N. D. III 55)	Caelus	wife, Minerva α; child, Apollo α	Egypt	also called Phthas, the patron of Egypt
β	Nilus			
γ	Jupiter γ + Juno		Lemnos	worker in metal
δ	Memalius (?)		Insulae Vulcaneae	
Mercurius α (N. D. III 56)	Caelus + Dies			Phallic deity, wooer of Proserpina
β	Valens + Phoronis			the Chthonian deity identified with Trophonius.
γ	Jupiter γ + Maia	wife, Penelope; child, Pan		
δ	Nilus		Egypt	Egyptian name ineffable
ε			Pheneus in Arcadia	fled to Egypt after slaying Argus, and became the Egyptian lawgiver Theuth, after whom they name their first month
Aesculapius α (N. D. III 57)	Apollo α		Arcadia	inventor of probe and bandages
β	[Valens + Phoronis]	brother, Mercurius β	Cynosurae	struck by lightning and buried there
γ	Arsippus + Arsinoe		Arcadia	inventor of purges and of dentistry: buried by the r. Lusius

Ampelius	Lydus *De Mensibus*	Arnobius, Clemens Alexandrinus
		In Summary, cf. also III 37 cited in the note.
9. § 3. Soles fuere quinque: primus Jovis filius; secundus Hyperionis; tertius Nili (*Nihi* MSS, *Nini* Duk.) filius, cui Aegyptus est consecrata; quartus qui Rhodi natus est, cujus etiam Zemintus (*Zmintheus* Munck, *Lindus* Dav.) est filius; quintus Colchi filius, ex quo Circe et Medea et Phaethon nati sunt.		Arnob. IV 14. Quinque Soles, ex quibus Sol primus Jovis filius dicitur et Aetheris habetur nepos; secundus aeque Jovis filius et Hyperiona proditus genetrice; tertius Vulcano, non Lemnio, sed Nili qui fuerit filius; quartus Ialysi pater, quem Rhodi peperit heroicis temporibus Acantho; quintus Scythici regis et versipellis habetur Circae.
9. § 4. Volcani fuere quattuor: primus Crio et Joppe (*Aethiope* W.?) natus; secundus Nili filius; tertius Saturni et Junonis; quartus in Sicilia Miletes (*Melites* W., *Milvii* Dav.).	IV 48. p. 105. Ἥφαιστοι τέτταρες, πρῶτος Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Ἡμέρας, πατὴρ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχηγέτου, δεύτερος Νείλου παῖς, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι Φθάν, τρίτος ὁ Κρόνου καὶ Ἥρας, ὁ Λήμνιος, ὁ χαλκευτής, τέταρτος Ἥφαιστος ὁ Μαντοῦς (Cr. Μαντῴος), ὁ Σικελιώτης, ἐξ οὗ Ἡφαιστιάδες αἱ νῆσοι.	See above in Summary.
9. § 5. Mercurii quattuor: primus Caeli et Diei filius; secundus Jovis et Croniae filius vel Proserpinae; tertius Croni filius et Maiae, qui est inventor lyrae; quartus Cyllenii (MSS *Quilleni*, W. *qui Nili*?) filius, qui Aegyptiis litteras et numerum dixit.	Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* IV 577. Nonnulli quattuor Mercurios tradunt, unum Caeli et Diei filium, amatorem Proserpinae; alterum Liberi patris et Proserpinae filium; tertium Jovis et Maiae; quartum Cyllenii filium, cujus mater non proditur, a quo Argus clam occisus est, qui hoc metu in Aegyptum profugit, et ibi invenisse primum disciplinam litterarum et numerum dicitur, qui lingua Aegyptiorum Thoth appellatur, de cujus nomine etiam mensis dictus est.	l.c. Jam Mercurius primus, qui in Proserpinam dicitur genitalibus adhinnivisse subrectis, supremi progenies Caeli est. Sub terra est alter, Trophonius qui esse jactatur. Maia tertius matre et Jove procreatus, sed tertio; quartus soboles Nili est, cujus nomen Aegyptia gens horret et reveretur exprimere; quintus Argi est interemptor, fugitivus atque exsul et proditor apud Aegyptum litterarum. Lactantius Placidus (Scholiast on Statius *Theb.* IV 483, fl. about 500 A.D.). Corvilius (?) quattuor Mercurios esse scribit, unum Jovis et Maiae filium, alterum Caeli et Diei, tertium Liberi et Proserpinae, quartum Jovis et Cyllenes, a quo Argus occisus est, quem ipsum ob hanc causam Graeci profugum dicunt, Aegyptiis autem litteras demonstrasse.
9. § 6. Aesculapii tres: primus Apollo dictus (Halm *Apollinis filii*) Vulcani filius; secundus Lai (W. *Elati*) filius; tertius Aristeti et Alcippe (Periz. *Alcippes*) filius.	Lydus IV 90. p. 123. Ἀσκλήπιοι τρεῖς λέγονται γενέσθαι, πρῶτος Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ὃς ἐξεῦρε μήλην, δεύτερος Ἰσχύος τοῦ Ἐλάτου καὶ Κορωνίδος, [ὃς ἐν τοῖς Κυνασούριδος added by Hase] ὁρίοις ἐτάφη, τρίτος Ἀρσίππου καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου.	Clem. Al. *Prot.* § 29. τί δ' εἴ σοι τοὺς πολλοὺς εἴποιμι Ἀσκληπίους ἢ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς τοὺς ἀριθμουμένους ἢ τοὺς Ἡφαίστους τοὺς μυθολογουμένους; μὴ καὶ περιττὸς εἶναι δόξω τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς τούτοις ἐπικλύζων ὀνόμασιν; ἀλλ' αἵ γε πατρίδες αὐτοὺς καὶ αἱ τέχναι καὶ οἱ βίοι, πρὸς δέ γε καὶ οἱ τάφοι, ἀνθρώπους γεγονότας διελέγχουσιν.

Name of Divinity	*Parents*	*Other Relations*	*Country*	*Miscellaneous*
Apollo α (N. D. III 57)	Vulcanus [α + Minerva α].	[son, Aesculapius α]	Athens	patron of
β	Corybas		Creta	contended with Jupiter for Crete
γ	Jupiter γ + Latona	[sister, Diana β]	Delphi	came thither from the Hyperboreans
δ			Arcadia	Nomius, so called as the lawgiver of Arcadia
Diana α (N. D. III. 58)	Jupiter α + Proserpina	[husband, Mercurius; brothers, Dioscuri α, Dionysus α; see also Hercules α, Sol α]; child, winged Cupid (α)		
β	Jupiter γ + Latona	[brother, Apollo γ]		
γ	Upis + Glauce			also called Upis by the Greeks after her father
Dionysus α (N. D. III 58)	Jupiter α + Proserpina	[see Diana α]		
β	Nilus			killed Nysa (?).
γ	Cabirus		King of Asia	worshipped in the Sabazia
δ	Jupiter + Luna			worshipped in the Orphic rites
ε	Nisus + Thyone			instituted the Trieterides
Venus α (N. D. III 59)	Caelus + Dies	[brothers, Mercurius α, see also Jupiter β, Vulcanus α]		Cic. had seen her shrine at Elis
β	Ἀφρος	husband, Mercurius α; son Cupido β		
γ	Jupiter γ + Dione	husband, Vulcanus γ; son, by Mars, Anteros (Cupido γ)		
δ	Syria + Cyprus (?) (*Cyrus* MSS)	husband, Adonis		also called Astarte

Ampelius	Lydus *De Mensibus*	Arnobius, Clemens Alexandrinus
9. § 6. Apollines quinque: primus Vulcani et Minervae; secundus ex Corybante; tertius Jovis filius ex Latona; quartus Sileni filius in Arcadia; quintus Ammonis filius in Lybia natus.		*Ib.* II § 28. ναὶ μὴν Ἀπόλλωνα ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς—ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ—δεύτερον ἐν Κρήτῃ, τὸν Κορύβαντος, τρίτον τὸν Διός, καὶ τέταρτον τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν Σιληνοῦ· Νόμιος οὗτος κέκληται παρ' Ἀρκάσιν· ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Λίβυν καταλέγει τὸν Αμμωνος· ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς τούτοις ἕκτον ἐπιφέρει τὸν Μάγνητος.
9. § 7. Dianae tres: prima Jovis Croni (W. *Cronii*, Jahn *Chthonii*) filia ex Proserpina, quae est Liberi soror; secunda Jovis et Latonae, Apollinis soror; tertia quae vocatur Ops (MS *Obs*) de Glauco (W. *Glauce*).		Arnobius in Summary recognizes three.
§ 11. Liberi quinque: primus ex Jove et Proserpina; hic agricola et inventor vini, cujus soror Ceres; secundus Liber ex Merone[1] (Muncker *Melone*) et Flora, cujus nomine fluvius est Granicus; tertius de Cabiro, qui regnavit in Asia; quartus ex Saturno (W. *Saturnio*) et Semela dicunt (W. marks a hiatus before *dicunt*); quintus Nisi et Hesionae (Muncker *Thyonae*) filius. [1] Festus p. 124 M. says that Melo is a name for the Nile, but Meros (mt. Meru) also is a name connected with Bacchus, see Strabo XV p. 687, Solinus 52, Curtius VIII 35 Nysa sita est sub radicibus montis quem Meron incolae appellant (whence the fable of his birth from the thigh of Zeus).	IV c. 38. p. 82. Τέρπανδρός γε μὴν ὁ Λέσβιος Νύσσαν λέγει τετιθηνηκέναι τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης γενόμενον, εἶτα ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων σπαραχθέντα. ...κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς Διόνυσοι πέντε, πρῶτος Διὸς καὶ Λυσιθέας, δεύτερος ὁ Νείλου, ὁ καὶ βασιλεύσας Λιβύης καὶ Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Ἀραβίας, τρίτος Καβείρου παῖς, ὅστις τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Καβειρικὴ τελετή· τέταρτος ὁ Διὸς καὶ Σεμέλης, ᾧ τὰ Ὀρφέως μυστήρια ἐτελεῖτο καὶ ὑφ' οὗ οἶνος ἐκεράσθη· πέμπτος ὁ Νίσου καὶ Θυώνης, ὃς κατέδειξε τριετηρίδα.	*Arnobius.* Five in Summary. *Clemens Alexandrinus.* See on Asclepius.
§ 9. Veneres quattuor: prima Caeli (MS *hiedeli*) et Diei filia; secunda quae ex spuma nata esse dicitur, Aetheris (MS *et aeris*) et Oceani filia; tertia quae Vulcano nupsit, quae cum Marte se miscuit, unde Cupido natus esse dicitur; quarta Cypri et Syriae filia, quam Adon habuit.	IV 44. p. 89. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν ποιητῶν τέσσαρας παραδιδόασιν, μίαν μὲν ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Ἡμέρας τεχθεῖσαν, ἑτέραν δὲ ἐξ Ἀφροῦ, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Ἔρως ἐτέχθη, τρίτην Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Ἄρεος τεχθῆναί φασιν Ἀντέρωτα, τετάρτην τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κύπρου, τὴν λεγομένην Ἀστάρτην. Ἄλλοι δέ φασιν πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Ἡμέρας Οὐρανίαν καλουμένην, δευτέραν δὲ Ἀφροῦ καὶ Εὐρυνόμης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ, καὶ τρίτην τὴν συναφθεῖσαν Ἑρμῇ τοῦ Νείλου, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ δεύτερος Ἔρως ὁ ὑπόπτερος, τετάρτην Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, ἣν ἔγημεν Ἥφαιστος, λάθρᾳ δὲ αὐτῇ συνελθὼν Ἄρης ἔτεκε τὸν Ἀντέρωτα· καλεῖται δὲ πολλαχοῦ καὶ Πασιφάη . . . καὶ Ἐρυκίνη . . . ἀπ' αὐτῆς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ τὸν Ἑρμαφρόδιτον τεχθῆναι.	*Arnobius.* Four in Summary.

Name of Divinity	*Parents*	*Other Relations*	*Country*	*Miscellaneous*
Minerva α (N. D. III 59)	•	[husband, Vulcanus α]; son, Apollo α		
β	Nilus		Egypt	worshipped at Sais
γ	Jupiter β			
δ	Jupiter + Coryphe d. of Oceanus		Arcadia	also called Coria, inventress of chariots
ε	Pallas			represented with winged feet: slew her father for attempting her chastity
Cupido α (N. D. III 60)	Mercurius α + Diana α			[called 'winged' § 58]
β	Mercurius α + Venus β			
γ	Mars + Venus γ			also called Anteros
[Mars in Ampelius and Clemens; Pan in Lydus; omitted in Cicero				

Ampelius	Lydus *De Mensibus*	Arnobius, Clemens Alexandrinus
§ 10. Minervae quinque: prima Vulcani filia, unde Athenarum est civitas; secunda Nili filia quam Aegyptii (MS. *Aegypti*) colunt; tertia Jovis filia quae in bellicis (MS *fecillis*) rebus se exercuit; quarta solis (Dav. *Jovis*) filia quae quadrigas junxit; quinta Pallantis et Titanidos filia. Haec patrem occidit pro suae virginitatis observatione, quia eius cupidus fuit, unde et Pallas dicta est.		*Arnobius.* IV 14. Sed et Minervae, inquiunt, sicut Soles et Mercurii quinque sunt: ex quibus prima non virgo sed ex Vulcano Apollinis procreatrix; Nili altera proles et quae esse perhibetur Aegyptia Sais. Stirps Saturni tertia est et quae usum excogitavit armorum; Jovis quarta progenies, quam Messenii Coryphasiam nominant; et quae Pallantem occidit patrem, incestorum appetitorem, est quinta. *Clemens Alex.* II 28. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ πέντε Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποτίθενται, τὴν μὲν Ἡφαίστου τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, τὴν δὲ Νείλου τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν, τρίτην τὴν Κρόνου τὴν πολέμου εὑρέτιν, τετάρτην τὴν Διός, ἣν Μεσσήνιοι Κορυφασίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπικεκλήκασιν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν Πάλλαντος καὶ Τιτανίδος τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ, ἣ τὸν πατέρα δυσσεβῶς καταθύσασα τῷ πατρῴῳ κεκόσμηται δέρματι, ὥσπερ κῳδίῳ.
		Arnobius. In Summary: pinnatorum Cupidinum trigas.
§ 2. Martes fuere duo: primus ex Enoposte, ut eum Homerus ait, et noster Mars Leucarpis, et alter Mars enius; secundus ex Jove et Junone. (W. suggests *ex Enyo poste...; secundus ex Jove et Junone, ut eum Homerus dicit, est noster Mars seu Marspiter et alter Mars Enyalius.*)	IV 74. p. 118. δύο Πᾶνας φασί. τινὲς δέ φασι τὸν Πᾶνα ἐκ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας . . . τόδε τὸ πᾶν.	*Clem. Al.* *Prot.* II 29. Ἄρης, ὡς μὲν Ἐπίχαρμός φησι, Σπαρτιάτης ἦν, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ Θρᾷκα οἶδεν αὐτόν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρκάδα.

Index to Notes and proper Names as well as to less usual words and phrases.

[Where the reading is doubtful (?) is added.]

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